Volume 28, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1939

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

CONTENTS

PAGE
Lincoln's Letter to Eliza P. Gurney.....*Frontispiece*
Summer Meeting, Friends' Historical Association..... 59
The High Street Meeting House, West Chester, Pennsylvania
The Chestnut Street Meeting House, West Chester, Pennsylvania
Illustrations facing page 60
Headquarters of the Chester County Historical Society
Illustration facing page 62
The Quakerism of Abraham Lincoln.....George B. Johnson 63
The Growth of Whittier's Reputation in Iowa
Charles Arthur Hawley 67
The Old Meeting House at Salem, Iowa
Whittier College, Salem, Iowa, as Rebuilt After the Fire of 1885
Illustrations facing page 74
Rev. Levi Gregory, President of Whittier College, and His Wife
Illustration facing page 76
Announcement of Address by David Tatum, with Portrait
Illustration facing page 78
Lawrie Tatum.....*Illustration facing page* 80
Appeal for Funds Sent Out by Whittier College in 1868, with
Vignette Supplied by Whittier.....*Illustration facing page* 82
A Whittier Note..... 102
Quaker Research in Progress or Unpublished..... 103
Articles in Quaker Periodicals.....Thomas E. Drake 105
Book Reviews 106
Briefer Notices .....Henry J. Cadbury 110

Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

Members receive the Bulletin free of charge. (Membership dues, $2.00 per annum; see the notice regarding membership on next page.) Libraries may subscribe to the Bulletin for $1.00 per annum if they order directly through the Secretary's office. Single copies are sold for $1.00.

Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer, Friends' Historical Association, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

OFFICERS OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President: William Wistar Comfort
Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Vice-Presidents: Edward Woolman
Lydia Flagg Gummere

Secretary: Anna B. Hewitt
Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Treasurer: I. Thomas Steere
30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania

Honorary Treasurer: James H. Atkinson

Curator: Lydia Flagg Gummere

Editor of Bulletin: Thomas K. Brown, Jr.
226 Dickinson Avenue, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

DIRECTORS

Anna Cox Brinton
Henry J. Cadbury
John W. Cadbury, Jr.
William Wistar Comfort
Thomas E. Drake
Lydia Flagg Gummere
J. Carroll Hayes
Anna B. Hewitt
William I. Hull
Horace Mather Lippincott
Walter F. Price
I. Thomas Steere
George Vaux
Edward Woolman

MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to Secretary, or to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 28, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1939

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

SUMMER MEETING FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE SUMMER MEETING of the Friends' Historical Association was held on the afternoon and evening of Saturday, May 20, 1939, in West Chester, Pennsylvania. The meeting assembled in the High Street Meeting House, built in 1813 and enlarged in 1868, and now under the care of Friends in membership with the Yearly Meeting at Fifteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia; but the Meeting House on Chestnut Street, only a few blocks away, opened in 1846 and now under the care of Arch Street Friends, invited inspection, and its members welcomed the Association jointly with the High Street Friends. Between the meeting and supper, served in the High Street Meeting House or on its spacious porch or lawn, members of the Association were invited to visit the headquarters of the Chester County Historical Society, and inspect the collections housed there. The BULLETIN published a brief note of the opening of this building, with a reproduction of the architect's drawing, in the Spring Number for 1938 (Vol. 27, No. 1, p. 50); and it was a pleasure to see the completed building and the rich exhibitions of historical relics.

The meeting was opened with introductory remarks by the President, William Wistar Comfort, who paid graceful tribute to the historic role of West Chester as a center of local culture; and listened then to the welcome extended to the Association on behalf of the High Street Friends by Herbert P. Worth, a member of the Hospitality Committee. He spoke as follows:

IT IS AN unusual privilege to have the opportunity of extending a welcome to a group like this and we are anxious that the members of the Friends' Historical Association shall know how sincere and how cordial is this greeting. You have come to a Friendly community. From its earliest settlement until now it has borne the impress of Quaker thought and Quaker life and yet it is not the oldest of the Friends' meetings hereabouts. A little more than a century and a quarter ago

the West Chester Friends, feeling the inconvenience of traveling four miles west to Bradford or four miles south to Birmingham or four miles east to Goshen in order to attend First-day and midweek meetings, sought for the establishment of a meeting here. Within five years they had secured in succession an indulged meeting, an established meeting, a preparative meeting, and a monthly meeting and had procured the land and erected a substantial stone meeting house, a portion of which still remains as a part of the building in which we now are. Naturally the early settlers here were mostly Friends or those associated with Friends, but with the passing of the years those of various faiths and differing customs moved in until the time came, long ago indeed, that Friends no longer preponderated as to numbers but the essential Quaker characteristics continue in large degree.

Now this is not only a Friendly community but it is as well a center of much interest in the local historical field, a fresh evidence of which is found in the fact that the Chester County Historical Society has recently procured a new and commodious home to which those here assembled have been invited at the close of this session.

And so we trust that this place, Friendly in character and historically minded, may prove a congenial setting for the deliberations of the Friends' Historical Association, and that your visit here may be to you one of pleasure and satisfaction.

A second welcome was extended to the Association on behalf of the Chestnut Street Friends by Matilda W. Evans, who spoke as follows:

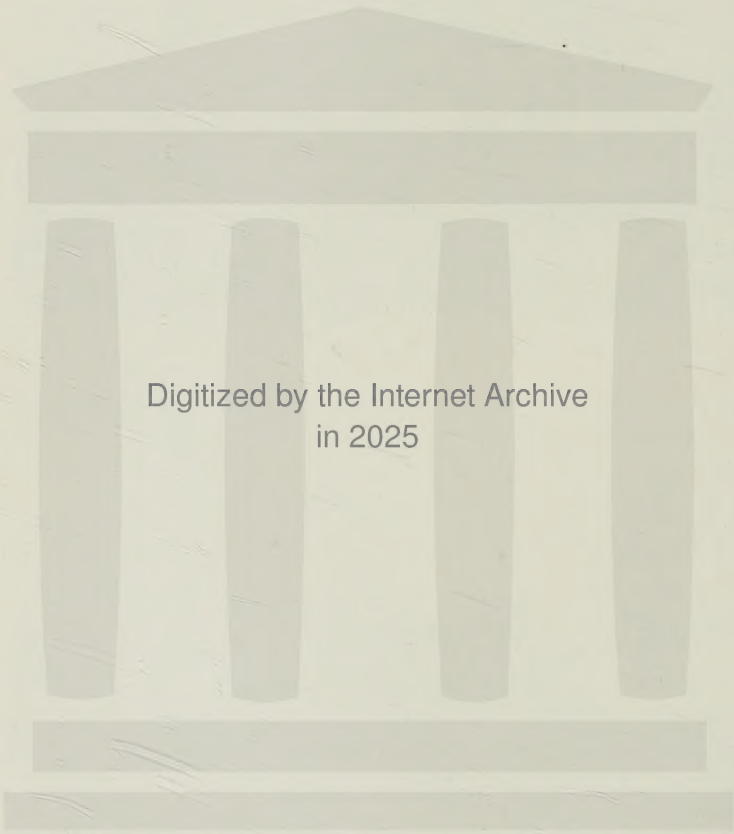
A LITTLE way west and south from here—perhaps a quarter of a mile—is another old green stone Meeting House. It bears a date stone marked 1846. From the little group of Friends who meet there I bring you a welcome as hearty as has been expressed.

And since this is an historical occasion I have thought it might be well to introduce to you some of the persons who have sat on the benches over there in the years that have intervened since that meeting began.

First, there are Philip and Rachel Price of revered memory. They came to West Chester from Westtown in 1830 and lived on Union Street. Their children divided, some attending one meeting, some the other.

It was in the home of Rachel Price's father (or was it her brother?) in Nantmeal that a young Irishman, just arrived about the time of the Revolution, first came under the influence of Friends hitherto unknown to him. This was John Forsythe, schoolmaster, endowed with great ability. John Forsythe waited for reincarnation until his great-grandchildren were born, coming to life again in them; through Isaac Sharpless at Haverford, Ann Sharpless at Westtown, and Davis Forsythe at Germantown his intellectual progeny are as the sands of the sea for multitude. Birmingham was his home meeting and during the longest

Above: High Street Meeting House, West Chester, Pennsylvania
Below: Chestnut Street Meeting House, West Chester, Pennsylvania
From photographs by Belt's Studio


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/quaker-history_autumn-1939_28_2

period of his teaching career he was engaged there. But he promoted the opening of West Chester Academy down Gay Street in 1811, and since West Chester meeting is a Preparative of Birmingham I have no doubt he was interested in Chestnut Street Meeting.

These mentioned above attended meeting at the red brick house on the west side of Chestnut Street opposite the present green stone building which was built later.

Then there were two doctors,[1] both eminent scientists as well, Dr. Isaac Hayes and Dr. George Martin. They were contemporary but they did not attend Chestnut Street Meeting at the same time. Both served in Union hospitals during our Civil War. Dr. Hayes's hospital service was really distinguished. When the meeting took up Dr. Martin's case he told the Friends who visited him that he entered the army service to save life, not to take it; the meeting did not discipline him. During the latter period of his life he lived on Miner Street, writing the results of his study of fungous growths. I have wondered if his learning has benefited the industry in which many hereabouts are engaged.

After graduation at the University of Pennsylvania Dr. Hayes accompanied the Kane Expedition to Greenland in search of Sir John Franklin. Subsequently he made two expeditions of his own to the northlands, and then was engaged in writing several books, of which the fascinating *Open Polar Sea* was one.

Hannah Gibbons was a gifted minister. After rearing her beautiful family of fourteen children in Lancaster County, she came to West Chester to spend the years of her widowhood in the home adjoining the meeting property,—the old Barclay. Indeed she gave the home for the Barclay. We hear much of late of Elizabeth Fry visiting prisons; Hannah Gibbons visited prisoners, especially such as were under sentence of death, carrying to each individually a message of God's forgiving grace.

---

[1] The following bibliography may be useful to some who would like to read further in the lives of the two physicians:

For Dr. Isaac Israel Hayes, 1832-1881:

Biographical sketches in Futhey & Cope, *History of Chester County,* p. 594, and Kelly & Burrage, *American Medical Biographies,* p. 507.

For Dr. George Martin, 1826-1886:

Biographical sketch in Kelly & Burrage, *American Medical Biographies,* p. 764, quoted in J. W. Harshberger, *The Botanists of Philadelphia.*

Writings by Dr. Martin:

"New Florida Fungi," in *Journal of Mycology,* 1:97.

"Synopsis of the North American Species of Asterina, etc.," ibid., 1:133, 145.

"New Fungi," ibid., 11:128.

"The Phyllostictas of North America," ibid., 11:13, 25.

Joseph Scattergood was endowed with a reaching ministry.

William P. Townsend was concerned that things should be done in most approved fashion.

Samuel R. Shipley and his wife Anna Shinn Shipley attended in summer from their home just over the Bradford line, although his membership was never here.

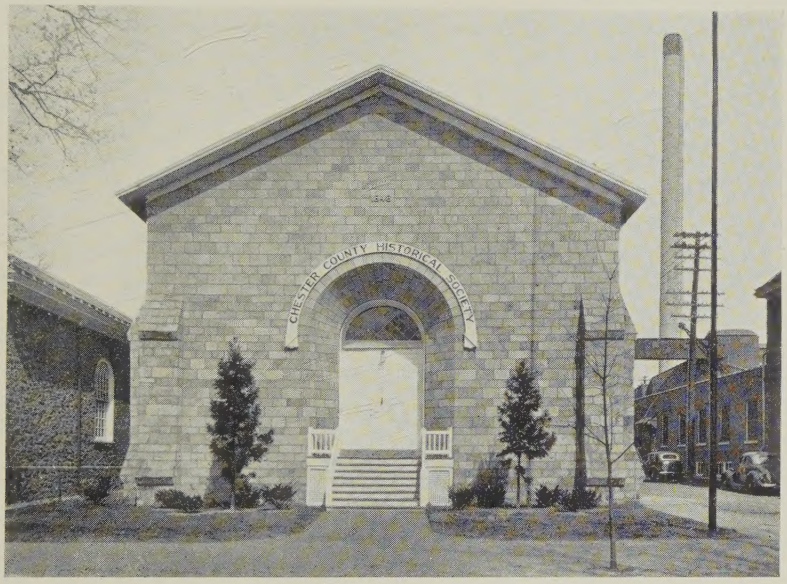
And no one would think of things historical in this community nor among Friends without mentioning the late Gilbert Cope, who did so much to make the ancient families live again.

May we not imagine these and many others are mingling among us as we turn our thoughts back to their times.

The first of the formal papers presented to the meeting was "Quakerism of Abraham Lincoln," by George B. Johnson, of West Chester. The text of this address is given in full on page 63 of this issue of the BULLETIN; but Mr. Johnson concluded his address by reading Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, which is not reprinted. It was of interest to many present to learn that Lincoln practiced family worship in the White House from 1861 to 1865, in accordance with the Quaker tradition of his ancestors, under the leadership of Eliza P. Gurney and other Quaker ministers; and the beautiful letter which he wrote to Eliza Gurney in 1864, a photostat of which had been sent to members of the Association with the invitation to the meeting, is reproduced as the frontispiece of this issue of the BULLETIN.

The second address was entitled "Quaker Profiles," by Anna Cox Brinton, of Pendle Hill, and was pleasingly illustrated with lantern slides showing many silhouettes of Friends of earlier times. It is hoped that the text of this address may be reduced to writing and given to readers of a later issue of the BULLETIN.

The summer meeting was again favored with warm and pleasant weather, and the building and grounds of the High Street Meeting House afforded a delightful place for a basket supper. Indeed, the supper and the social gatherings in smaller groups are quite as important to the life of the Association as the papers read at the formal meetings, and the environment at West Chester was such as to bring them to their best; and, as usual, those who attended carried away many recollections of the results of worthwhile Quaker study, and of pleasant personal contacts begun or renewed with persons for whose acquaintance the ordinary routine of life seems to have offered too little opportunity.



Headquarters of the Chester County Historical Society,
West Chester, Pennsylvania
From photograph by Belt's Studio

THE QUAKERISM OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN [1]

By George B. Johnson

What humble hands unbar the gates of morn
Through which the glories of the new day burst.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was one of the forty million descendants of Friends in the United States. The survival in him of the best qualities of the religion of that Society, notwithstanding the disownment of his grandfather for marrying a Congregationalist, is thoroughly demonstrated by every act of his public and private life and is beautifully expressed in his letter [2] to Eliza P. Gurney, which was reproduced in his own handwriting as part of the program for the summer meeting of the Friends' Historical Association at West Chester, Pennsylvania, on May 20, 1939, and appears as the frontispiece of this Bulletin. This letter was rediscovered in the possession of Deborah Howell Brinton, of West Chester, a cousin of Harriet Howell, who was a niece of Eliza P. Gurney. She graciously granted leave to have that letter printed for the Association and its friends. Chester County was the appropriate place to give to the world this glimpse of the spiritual origin of the religious beliefs of its most distinguished grandson, who has been recognized by Edward Channing in his *History of the United States* as one of the half dozen greatest men of all human history.

This tribute follows his account of Lincoln's emancipation proclamation in 1863, declaring the slaves of those in rebellion against the United States forever free. Anyone who will read Lincoln's letter of September 4, 1864, with attention to his reference to the visits of Friends from Pennsylvania and elsewhere, therein referred to, and with knowledge of the details of that great event in human progress, will recognize the influence of Lincoln's Friendly principles. Mordicai Lincoln, the great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, was a member of Exeter Monthly Meeting of Friends and is buried in the Friends' ceme-

[1] A paper read at the summer meeting of Friends' Historical Association held in the High Street Friends' Meeting House at West Chester, Pennsylvania, May 20, 1939.

[2] Now preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

tery there, near Reading, Pennsylvania. He was a pioneer in the early iron industries of Chester County at Warwick and Coventryville. Abraham Lincoln is known to have been intimately acquainted with and strongly influenced by Jesse Fell, a Friend who went from Chester County to Springfield, Illinois, and became the head of the normal school there; he induced Lincoln to hold the debates with Douglas and to ask Douglas the fateful question which resulted in the election of Douglas as Senator and later of Lincoln as President. Fell also persuaded Lincoln to write his autobiography, which he sent to Joseph J. Lewis of West Chester, who published it with strong editorial endorsement in Samuel R. Downing's antislavery newspaper in West Chester, which introduced Lincoln to the Eastern newspapers, after his great speech at the Cooper Union in New York.

THE Friendly influence of Enoch Lewis, one of the founders of Haverford College, was transmitted to his son, Joseph J. Lewis, of West Chester, Pennsylvania, who fought the Christiana riot cases and other antislavery battles in the State and Federal Courts of Pennsylvania. Lewis's daughter was the first wife of Wayne MacVeagh, whose mother was a second cousin of Lincoln. After the death of his first wife MacVeagh married a daughter of Simon Cameron. Lewis and MacVeagh secured the instructions to the delegates to the Pennsylvania Republican Convention of 1860 for Cameron first and Lincoln second. This gave Lincoln the majority over Seward in the Chicago Convention and resulted in his nomination and election to the Presidency. Joseph J. Lewis became his Commissioner of Internal Revenue and framed the financial system which saved the nation in the Civil War. Lincoln frequently said that if he could find a church which had no creed but the Golden Rule, that church he would gladly join. His religion was broader and deeper than that of any sect. His wife was a member of the Presbyterian Church, in which he was a pewholder, but he frequently attended services in the Methodist and other churches and was ready to co-operate with every worthy effort for the spiritual or economic uplift of the human race. On February 22, 1861, Lincoln was in Philadelphia on his way to Washington for his inauguration as President, and took

part in raising a flag at Independence Hall to celebrate the admission of Kansas as a free State. On that occasion he spoke as follows:

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle from which sprang the institutions under which we live.

You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to our distracted country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. . . . I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together.

It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.

Now in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it is forced upon the government. The government will not use force unless force is used against it.

My friends, this is wholly an unprepared speech. I did not expect to be called on to say a word when I came here. I supposed I was merely to do something toward raising a flag. I may, therefore have said something indiscreet. (Cries of "No, no.") But I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.

Ida Tarbell in referring to Lincoln's religion says: "He was regular in his weekly attendance at the First Presbyterian Church, as all his old neighbors testify. In fact, Lincoln, all his life, went regularly to church. The serious attention which he gave the sermons is shown in a well authenticated story of a visit made in 1837 to a camp-meeting at Salem Church. The Rev. Dr. Peter Akers prophesied the downfall of castes, the end of tyrannies,

and the crushing out of slavery. Lincoln said to a friend on the way home, 'It was the most instructive sermon, and he is the most impressive preacher, I have ever heard. It is wonderful that God has given such power to men. I firmly believe his interpretation of prophesy, so far as I understand it, and especially about the breaking down of civil and religious tyrannies; and, odd as it may seem, when he described those changes and revolutions I was deeply impressed that I should be somehow strangely mixed up with them.' "

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case that a Negro slave had no rights which a white man was bound to respect and that he had no right to be heard by that court was announced by President Buchanan in advance of the Court's opinion and aroused the moral indignation of Lincoln to efficient action.

The night before the speech given at Independence Hall in the early morning, Lincoln was warned of the plot to assassinate him as he passed through Baltimore. Consequently he was taken by the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad and J. Clemson Sharpless, its Chief Engineer, and Alexander McClure, to Harrisburg, where he gave a public address; after which all the wires leading out of Harrisburg were cut and he was brought in a private sleeping car to Philadelphia and sent to Washington, where he woke up in safety the next morning.

Russell Conwell in *Acres of Diamonds* says the first time he saw Lincoln was on the occasion of the Cooper Union speech. The second time he saw Lincoln was when he went to Washington to plead for the life of one of his men who had been condemned to death for sleeping on post. He was still but a youthful captain and was awed by going into the presence of the man he worshiped. His voice trembled a little, as he told of how pleasantly Lincoln looked up from his desk, and how cheerfully he asked his business with him, and how absorbedly Lincoln then listened to his tale, although, so it appeared, he already knew of the main outline. "It will be all right," said Lincoln, when Conwell finished. But Conwell was still frightened. He feared that in the multiplicity of public matters this mere matter of life of a mountain boy, a private soldier, might be forgotten

till too late. "It is almost the time set," he faltered. And Conwell's voice almost broke, man of emotion that he was, as he told of how Lincoln said, with stern gravity: "Go and telegraph that soldier's mother that Abraham Lincoln never signed a warrant to shoot a boy under twenty, and never will." That was the one and only time that he spoke with Lincoln, and it remains an indelible impression. The third time he saw Lincoln was when, as officer of the day, he stood for hours beside the dead body of the President as it lay in state in Washington. In those hours, as he stood rigidly while the throng went shuffling sorrowfully through, an immense impression came to Colonel Conwell of the work and worth of the man who there lay dead, and that impression never departed.

From February 20, 1861, when he fearlessly referred to his threatened assassination, until April of 1865, when he was actually assassinated, Lincoln satisfied the hunger of his soul for the spiritual food which had fed him and his forefathers for generations by having family worship in the White House, under the leadership of Eliza P. Gurney and other gifted ministers of the Society of Friends.

While this fact was obviously suppressed in the histories and biographies of Lincoln, originating in war time, it was well known to members of Friendly families in Philadelphia and Washington and is treasured as one of their most priceless traditions and memories.

THE GROWTH OF WHITTIER'S REPUTATION IN IOWA

By Charles Arthur Hawley

I

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER as a boy became interested in the West through the visits of those noble "public Friends," Benjamin Lundy and William Forster. This interest dates back to about 1820, when Whittier was thirteen years old and first met William Forster and was inspired by his visit to the old farmhouse in the East Parish of Haverhill. Even before this, however, Whittier probably received his earliest

desire to know about the West from that intrepid traveling Friend, Benjamin Lundy. The interest of these early years never left Whittier, who at one time made plans to go himself into the "New West" to make his home with the pioneer Quakers whom he so greatly admired.

Again and again he replied to invitations to attend commencement exercises at Whittier College at Salem, Iowa, with such desire that the local *Salem News* proudly announced that Whittier would be present. His correspondence with Friends in Iowa,[1] especially after 1868 when he wrote gratefully permitting the new Friends' college to be named for him, kept him in touch with the intimate details of the life of the college, to which he sent sums of money and donations of books until the year of his death. For twenty-four years he sent the college checks, books, and letters of encouragement, and received from it solicitors and visitors. He was never too busy to receive reports from and give counsel to his Iowa correspondents, as is shown by the visit of Levi Gregory to Whittier a few months before the latter's death.[2] All in all, for a period of at least seventy years Whittier studied, supported by his pen and his money, and fought for the new freedom and democracy which he prophesied would come to pass in the West.

THE FIRST bond which united Whittier with Iowa connected itself with the question of slavery. Whittier hoped that the West might be forever free, and he determined to join his strength with that of the Iowa Quakers, especially the settlement at Salem which began in 1835. This was only two years after Iowa began legally to admit white settlers. The Salem station on the underground railway soon attained national fame, and encouraged Whittier in his fighting determination to keep slavery out of the West.

The history and geography of the West as Whittier knew it was roughly as follows:

[1] Much of this correspondence has been discovered and published by the present writer during the last few years in the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

[2] See the present writer's account of the visit in BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Spring Number 1939.

From October 1, 1804 until July 4, 1805 the country west of the Mississippi was a part of the Territory of Indiana, with Vincennes as capital. From July 4, 1805 until December 7, 1812 it was part of the Territory of Louisiana with its capital at St. Louis. From 1812 until 1821 it formed part of the territory of Missouri. In 1821, when Missouri became a State, the territory to the north was cut off. In 1833 Iowa was legally opened to white settlers. On June 30, 1834 what is known as Nebraska was termed the "Indian Country," and was governed by laws made at Washington which forbade white men to settle in the region without special permission. But after the opening of the Oregon Trail in Nebraska in 1813, white men continued to enter illegally, bringing whiskey and demoralizing the Indians. All this Whittier saw on maps, and studied in the Haverhill academy. His soul was outraged at the white man's treacherous use of whiskey in trading with the Indians. Whittier, it should not be forgotten, was one of the earliest American writers to declare war on liquor, and to write articles in condemnation of the whole distilling business. Usually Whittier has been associated with the battle for justice to the Negro, but he was also all his life interested in the problem of the Indians.

In December, 1844 a bill to create the Territory of Nebraska was introduced into Congress, but the final passage of the bill took ten years. In the meantime, Whittier centered his attention on Iowa's Senators, Augustus Caesar Dodge[3] and George W. Jones.

Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones went in 1848 to the United States Senate as Iowa's first two Senators. Dodge, unlike his father, was proslavery and exceedingly unpopular with the Quakers and abolitionists of Iowa. Through these groups Whittier learned about Dodge and Jones, and at once determined to assist his "western" friends to drive them from the Senate. For Dodge he conceived the greater animosity,

[3] For some unknown reason the attack of Whittier on Dodge's political career was overlooked until the present writer called attention to it in an article entitled "Whittier and Iowa" in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1936. In 1908 a biography of Dodge was published with no mention of Whittier's name.

evidently believing him, from Iowa reports, to be the more dangerous of the two. But he attacked each of them by editorials and in other ways, believing firmly that the future of the West depended on Iowa's decision. But Jones was equally proslavery, being a staunch friend of Jefferson Davis and other prominent southerners who were willing to fight to maintain the institution of slavery. Both Dodge and Jones voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854. Dodge's vote, reinforced by the attacks of Whittier, cost him his seat in the Senate, but Jones weathered the gale and represented Iowa in the United States Senate from 1848 until 1860.

Iowa in these years, 1848 until 1860, was undergoing great political changes. Up to this time the State had been predominantly southern in sympathy. Many of the pioneers had come from the South. In fact, the Salem Quakers had, for the most part, come from the Carolinas; but they had come to escape what they believed to be the iniquity of slavery. The tide began to turn in 1854, when James Harlan, who was decidedly antislavery, succeeded Dodge in the Senate. But the real cause of the change in Iowa goes back to January, 1847, when Whittier became corresponding editor of the *National Era,* an influential antislavery paper published in Washington, D. C. At that date Whittier's editorials flaying Dodge and Jones began. His Iowa admirers kept him in touch with the situation. In one of his editorials Whittier refers to their messages as follows:

> The Nebraska Bill, as a peace measure, does not work well. The more the troubled waters are oiled by it, the more they are disturbed. Every day adds more new embarrassment; every mail brings Job's tidings. Every wind comes loaded with an ominous growl of discontent.[4]

It was during this period of political adjustment in Iowa, according to the belief of the people of Iowa, that the Republican Party was formed. This occurred on March 28, 1854, at Crawfordsville, Iowa, when a group of anti-Nebraska men, abolitionists, Quakers, and others, met and declared against slavery and against the supporters of slavery, and formed a new party. Crawfordsville was an important station on the underground

[4] *National Era,* April 27, 1854.

railroad, and central for the strong New England Congregational element and the stronger Quaker element. Both Whigs and others joined the new Republican Party,[5] which became the anti-slavery party. The new party elected James W. Grimes Governor. The *National Era,* under the watchful eye of Whittier, approved:

> The Legislature, after some trouble, succeeded in effecting an organization. Governor Grimes, in an excellent Inaugural, thus refers to the Slavery Question: "It becomes the State of Iowa—the only free child of the Missouri Compromise,—to let the world know that she values the blessings that compromise has secured to her, and that she will never consent to become a party to the nationalization of slavery." [6]

In the meantime, the bill to create the Territory of Nebraska was strongly contested by the South on the ground that there was a better chance to continue the institution of slavery if the region could be kept as it was. During this period, the white settlements in Iowa expanded westward, pushing the Indians across the Missouri River. The situation for Nebraska was getting worse, and yet the bill of 1844 failed to pass, as did a second bill in 1848, and a third bill in 1853. In 1854 the bill known as the "Nebraska-Kansas Bill" was introduced. This bill proposed to divide the "Indian Country" into two territories, and to let the settlers in the two new territories decide by ballot whether they would permit the institution of slavery. This provision outraged the soul of Whittier and the Iowa abolitionists. The Southerners, meanwhile, argued that slaves were "property" and that they had the same right to move them into the new territory as they had to move their cattle or their household goods. The abolitionists, headed by Whittier, maintained that the original agreement should be strictly adhered to, thus making the West a home for free men and women with slavery forever abolished.

[5] The place of origin of the Republican Party is held by Wisconsin historians, however, to have been at Ripon; by those of Michigan, at Jackson. All three States held meetings within a short space of time.

[6] *National Era,* December 28, 1854. James W. Grimes, who is called "The father of Republicanism" in Iowa, was inaugurated December 9, 1854. He brought all the Iowa opponents of slavery into the Republican Party. Lincoln praised Iowa's stand.

Whittier was greatly agitated about all this; and his wrath boiled against Dodge and Jones, who supported the bill to the great disappointment of the Iowa Quakers.

In a long editorial in the *National Era* for April 6, 1854 Whittier pointed out that several northern legislatures and public meetings had sent protests against the Nebraska-Kansas Bill:

> Never within the memory of man have the people of the free states been so united upon any political question as they are at this moment in opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the introduction of Slavery into the great territory of the West.

Whittier concluded the editorial by calling for action to defeat the bill. Mass meetings were held at various parts of the State of Iowa, and resolutions sent to the *National Era,* which was widely read in Iowa by the Quakers and abolitionists during the thirteen years that Whittier served as its corresponding editor. The people felt that he was one of them as well as their champion. In an editorial under date of July 27, 1854, Whittier wrote:

> Iowa, the near neighbor of Kansas, is another speciment of a Free Slave State. From the hour of its admission to the present, its influence and votes have been given in favor of slavery. Augustus Caesar Dodge's vote has always been as certain for any villanous [*sic*] scheme of Slavery Propagandism, as those of Butler and Atchison. Where the special blame of this state of things lies, we do not pretend to say—we hope, at least, that our Quaker friends there have skirts clean in the matter—but there is no disguising the fact that Iowa is now, and has been from the outset, so far as her action in the Confederacy is concerned, to all intents and purposes a slave state. . . The anti-administration candidates, as a matter of course, stand pledged to reverse the mischievous policy of the Dodges and the Henns,[7] and their election would go far to place Iowa where she belongs on the list of Free States.

Finally the determination of the Iowa Quakers and the other abolitionists won the day. Letters from Iowa went to the *National Era* and Whittier saw that they were printed. The sentiment against Dodge grew, and in January 1855 he was

[7] Bernhardt Henn represented Iowa in Congress from 1851 to 1855. His intense desire to pacify the South with a compromise on slavery made him very unpopular with the Iowa Quakers and abolitionists. Henn was a friend of Dodge; this friendship was an additional reason for Whittier's disapproval of him.

succeeded in the Senate by James Harlan. Dodge's defeat was due to Whittier. Alone, the Quakers of Iowa could have done little; but with their beloved poet and friend, they were invincible. In 1855 Whittier's reputation in Iowa was secure; no other man from the East, whether in literature or in politics, came anywhere near him in prestige and influence.

II

SINCE the growth of Whittier's reputation in Iowa is bound up with the development of the Friends' college at Salem, Iowa, Whittier College, named for him, we must pause here to give a brief history of the college.

The college was the immediate outgrowth of Salem Seminary founded by Reuben Dorland.[8] At Dorland's death, there followed a brief break in the educational history of the Salem Friends, due to the Civil War. This was overcome, however, on May 17, 1867 when the Whittier College Association was organized. Higher education was constantly on the minds of the pioneer Iowa Friends and had been discussed in the Salem Quarterly Meeting, previously to this date, when a committee on education was appointed. This committee proposed joining with others and forming a joint stock company, and to this end offered articles of incorporation, which were read at a meeting held the above date (May 17, 1867), and after being considered separately, were adopted. The corporators were Isaac T. Gibson, John H. Pickering, Harvey Derbeshire, Henry Dorland, Erick Knudson, Amos McMillan, A. B. Marsh, and John M. Crosbie.

Following is a contemporary account of the establishment of the college:

> Salem Quarterly Meeting offered the association, for school purposes, the second story of the brick meeting house, on certain conditions, one of which was that the school should be conducted according to the principles of Friends. This proposition was thoroughly discussed and finally accepted, and means were taken, at once, to put the rooms in readiness for school at as early a day as possible.

[8] The history of Reuben Dorland and his work has been told by the present writer in the *Palimpsest* for November 1935, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

By the articles of incorporation it appears that the "Board of Directors shall consist of fifteen members all of whom shall be members of the Society of Friends, five of whom shall be appointed by Salem Quarterly Meeting, the other two-thirds to be elected by the College Association."

In accordance with the above condition, Isaac T. Gibson, John M. Crosbie, John H. Pickering, Jonathan Votaw, and Henry Dorland were appointed by the Quarterly Meeting, and George Hartley, L. M. Pickering, James E. Bailey, Peter Hobson, Wheeler Davis, Samuel Comer, Enoch Beard, Erick Knudson, Matthew Trueblood, and Jonathan E. Pickering were elected by the Association; these men constituted the first Board of Directors of Whittier College.

At the first annual meeting of the Association but one change appears in the Board of Directors, viz: Amos McMillan was elected in place of Wheeler Davis.

It appears that the work of preparing the building for the school was pressed with all diligence, and by active canvass, soliciting donations, selling stock, etc., a sufficient amount of means was raised and the building ready for school in 1868. In the meantime the board, through its teachers' committee, by advertising and correspondence, were seeking suitable teachers. It soon appeared that Prof. John W. Woody was the man to take charge of the new enterprise. Satisfactory terms having been made, school was opened May 20, 1868, Prof. Woody in charge, assisted by Mary C. Woody, his amiable wife. The records show satisfactory work in the school, and a determination on the part of the Board to press forward every interest of the institution, as a "library of 200 volumes," and "one hundred dollars invested in apparatus" is fitting evidence.[9]

It was at this time, June 1868, that the correspondence between the Salem Friends and Whittier began.[10] Whittier had at once

[9] From a clipping from the *Salem News,* preserved without date, in an old scrapbook in the possession of E. L. Gregory. The college thus founded burned down in 1885 but was rebuilt in 1887. However, it could not compete with better-equipped schools and colleges, and after struggling along for several years, it closed its doors in 1910. Whittier College of Whittier, California, was established in 1901.

[10] The present writer has printed these letters in the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Spring Number 1939. The illustration facing page 22 reproduced the reprint of Whittier's letter in the appeal issued by the college in 1868.

The Old Meeting House at Salem, Iowa, which was used at first to house Whittier College

Whittier College, Salem, Iowa, as rebuilt after the fire of 1885
From old half-tones in the possession of Rev. E. L. Gregory

begun sending books to the college, as the following minutes of the College Board for February 5, 1869 show:

> L. D. Lewelling now produced thirty-eight volumes of books presented by J. G. Whittier to the College Library, which are gratefully accepted from him.

The *Salem News* continues: "The above shows the recognition the poet gave the college in its infancy."

During the fall term of 1868 the enrollment made it necessary to add a third teacher, Clarkson C. Pickett; the following term a fourth teacher, James F. Clark, was added. Professor Clark was to have charge of the "Commercial Department," one of the first commercial departments in an Iowa school. During the school year 1871-1872 the teachers were John W. and Mary C. Woody, C. C. Pickett, and Annie E. Packer. The school year 1872-1873 saw the retirement of Professor Woody and his wife with the coming of D. Sands Wright, who acted as co-principal with C. E. Picket, assisted by Annie E. Packer, Annie J. Frazier, and Enos H. McCracken.

The coming of D. Sands Wright in 1872 marked a new beginning in the life of the school. In 1873 Professor Wright became president of the college. Born and reared in Samantha, Ohio, the son of a Quaker preacher who was also an ardent abolitionist, Professor Wright had looked forward to an educational career; and when the opening at Whittier College presented itself he accepted. His diary for 1872 tells of his trip West—the entry for August 12, 1872 tells the story of the coming of this man who did much to advance the educational status of the pioneer State:

> Bade the family farewell this morning and started on my westward journey. Reached Lebanon at noon. . . August 13: Started westward again this morning. Waited about five hours in Cincinnati. Spent the time in visiting the Probasco-Davidson fountain and the glass works in Covington. Reached Indianapolis about nine o'clock this evening. Obtained my first glimpse of prairie land by moon-light. Had a first moon-light view of the Illinois River. Wednesday, August 14: Continue my westward journey. Crossed the Mississippi River at Burlington. The view of the "father of waters" obtained as we crossed the bridge above was the finest sight that I ever saw. Reached Mount Pleasant at ten o'clock, having made the whole journey from Cincinnati to Mt. Pleasant without

making any stop for a longer time than twenty minutes. Reached Salem at five o'clock.[11]

In 1874 Levi Gregory, who was later to be president of the college, joined the faculty. In this same year C. F. Wahrer, a German, became a member of the faculty, being probably the first to teach German in an Iowa school. The enrollment for the winter term was one hundred twenty-eight. In 1876 Principal Wright accepted a call to the new Normal School, which was founded in "two old buildings abandoned by the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans home."

III

DURING this time the literary societies at Whittier College were writing orations on the work of Whittier, declaiming his poems, and urging him to visit the college. With his continuous gifts of money he encouraged the faculty and students in the hope that he might follow the footsteps of his boyhood heroes Benjamin Lundy and William Forster into the West. Whittier always shared with Emerson the idea that the "New West" would see the development of American culture at its best.

Among Whittier's poems published in the early Iowa newspapers appears his "My Creed," which is printed in full since there has been some question about its authorship. It was attributed to Whittier in the frontier newspapers.

My Creed

I hold that Christian grace abounds
  Where charity is seen; that when
We climb to heaven, 'tis on the rounds
  Of love to men.

I hold all else named piety
  A selfish scheme, a vain pretense;
Where center is not, can there be
  Circumference?

This I moreover hold, and dare
  Affirm where'er my rhyme may go,
Whatever things be sweet or fair,
  Love makes them so;

[11] This and the other entries from the Wright diary are quoted with the permission of Dr. Luella M. Wright.

The Rev. Levi Gregory, President of Whittier College,
and his wife Lydia
From an old half-tone in the possession of Rev. E. L. Gregory

Whether it be the lullabies
That charm to rest the nestling bird,
Or that sweet confidence of sighs,
And blushes without word;

Whether the dazzling and the flush
Of softly sumptuous garden bowers,
Or by some cabin door or bush
Of ragged flowers.

'Tis not the wide phylactery,
Nor stubborn fast, or stated prayers,
To make us saints; we judge the tree
By what it bears.

And when a man can live apart
From work, on theologic trust,
I know the blood about his heart
Is dry as dust.

"My Birthday," written by Whittier in 1871, was also a great favorite of the Iowa people; printed in Iowa papers, it was cut out and pasted into scrapbooks, spoken at school exhibitions, read at parlor reading circles.

President Wright's diary for 1872 lists many speakers at the college, some who came from long distances. On September 29 Daniel Dye from New York spoke; on October 27-28 David Tatum. The entry regarding David Tatum is in part as follows:

> Sunday, October 27, 1872: David Tatum and his wife from Cleveland, Ohio, were at the meeting. The meeting held over two hours. D. T. and his wife each preached for about an hour. Tatum gave a temperance lecture at the meeting house tonight. He spoke about two hours.
>
> Monday, October 28, 1872: David Tatum was at general exercises [at Whittier College] and addressed the students at some length. The burden of his remarks were that they should live true lives, lives of temperance and virtue; and expressed an earnest wish that not one of them should ever become intemperate or in any way bring reproach upon the cause of Truth.

David and Lawrie Tatum had a profound influence on Iowa's cultural development. From them, also, Whittier learned more about the West. David Tatum was known as the "Quaker Evangelist" and cards and notices were printed when he lectured in Iowa. Part of his life was spent in Denver, Colorado.

Lawrie Tatum lived at the Quaker settlement at Springdale, Iowa, near West Branch, the home of the Hoovers. Lawrie Tatum is remembered for his work in behalf of the Indians. The local notice of his death at Springdale on January 22, 1900, says:

> The work which appealed most strongly to him was that for the education and christianization of the Indians, and he was one of the foremost in working out President Grant's policy, and he has labored throughout his life to help this native race. One of his last undertakings was the preparation of a history of the Indian work under the title, "Our Red Brothers; and the Peace Policy of President Grant." He was favored to finish this work before his strength was broken, and he lived to see the book before the public.

In Lawrie Tatum's work the poet again joined Iowa with heart and hand.

IV

WHITTIER'S reputation in Iowa by no means lessened at the close of the Civil War. On the contrary, it increased with the development of temperance work, the formation of the Iowa Peace Society, and the growth of Whittier College at Salem, whither he sent money and books to the very end of his life. The Iowa correspondents have been mentioned above; Whittier's letters to Iowa have been published by the present writer.

A cross section of less than two months from the Wright diary for the year 1874 will give an idea of the spirited intellectual life of Whittier College, where the poet was the chief benefactor, and where he was read and made the subject of essays and orations. The college in the 1870's had a number of literary societies giving their attention to religious and literary themes of high order. The entry for February 18, 1874 refers to two of these societies:

> The second match discussion between the Philomathic Club and the Mutual Improvement Society came off tonight in room one. The discussion was rather long but otherwise good . . .

Two days later, February 20, there is an entry on the subject of temperance, about which Iowans were constantly concerned and in which they had Whittier's keenest approval:

> The woman's war against intemperance in Ohio was spoken of in G E [General Exercises]. The wonderful result already achieved is attracting attention all over the country . . .

DAVID TATUM

A

QUAKER EVANGELIST

FROM

DENVER, COLORADO,

WILL DELIVER

AN INSTRUCTIVE ADDRESS

ON

INTEMPERANCE

AND

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

THE HOME AND SALOON

— AND —

HOW TO SAVE THE BOYS.

Announcement of address by David Tatum, with portrait
From a photograph of the original, in the possession of Rev. E. L. Gregory

It should not be forgotten that Whittier was among the earliest Americans to write editorials advocating temperance [12] and denouncing the distilling and selling of alcoholic drinks. Entry for February 24:

> . . . Read to the students at G E from a newspaper some account of the temperance crusade in Ohio.

An entry for February 25 tells more of the literary societies:

> The students who are to be on exhibition are mostly taking hold of the work cheerfully, and the prospect is good for good exhibitions. . . Della Coleman and Mary Ruff are to discuss the question, was Wesley a greater reformer than Fox? Jennie Mendenhall is to write and deliver a poem.

Entry for March 2 again refers to the temperance movement:

> Received another copy of the *Highland News* this evening, giving much interesting information concerning the progress of the temperance movement in Ohio.

The entry for March 12 dispels the idea which some have had that the pioneer settlements west of the Mississippi were cut off from the outside world:

> The Press this evening gives an account of the death of Charles Sumner and Millard Fillmore. We do not often hear of two men so eminent dying so nearly at the same time. The mortality among eminent men seems to be very great of late. There are few such men as Sumner to rise up and fill his place in the hearts of the people.

The entry for March 13 tells of one of the teachers, Clarkson Pickett, speaking to the college on Sumner's death:

[12] A Temperance Society with eighty members flourished in Davenport, Iowa, as early as 1839. In 1855 *The Temperance Organ* was published at Davenport by Luse and Lane Company. This paper existed for about a year. A *Temperance Society* began work in the 1850's at Mount Pleasant, Iowa. It died down during the war, but revived and had a hard fight in the 1870's. The Henry County Quakers, including the Salem groups, were always active. In 1874 the Mount Pleasant *Conversation Club,* founded by Bronson Alcott on his first visit to Mount Pleasant in 1873, devoted one of its meetings to temperance. William Rémy Cole, who came to Iowa in 1839 as a missionary for the Unitarians, devoted his entire life to the cause of temperance. (This information was given the present writer by Mrs. O. C. Smith, daughter of William Rémy Cole.)

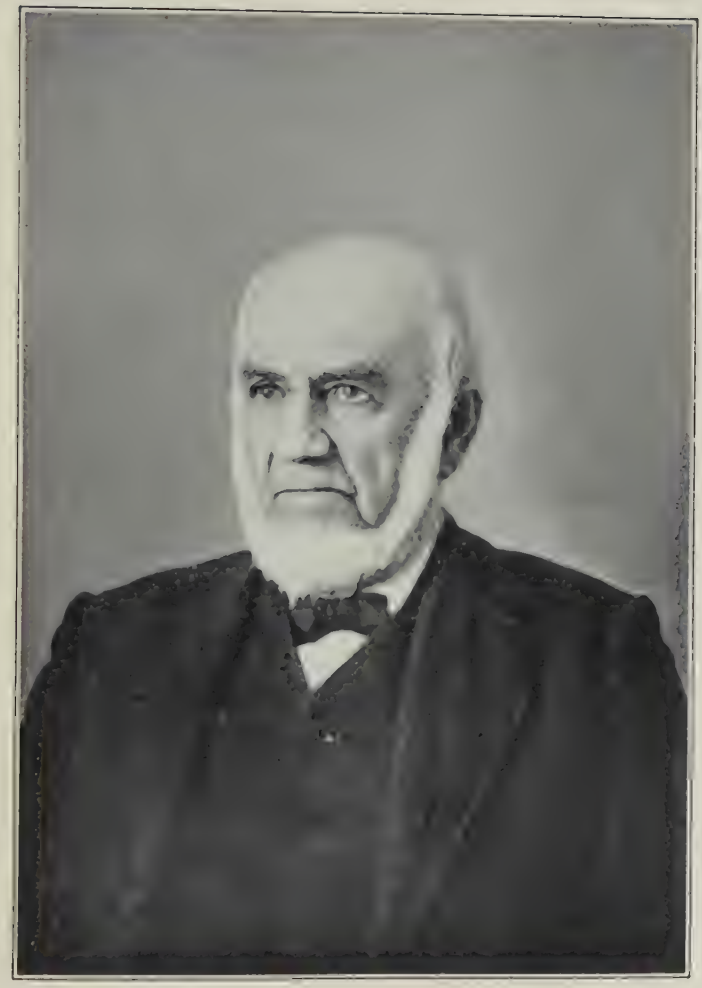
> Clarkson opened G E by reading the text, "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." From this text he spoke of the career of Charles Sumner, and the name that he left behind. He spoke of the principal acts of Sumner's life and showed that he had always lived and labored for the bettering of man, irrespective of condition or color.

The entry for April 3 prepares the way for another visit to Whittier:

> At the Board Meeting, today, Henry Dorland read a letter from Jeremiah A. Grinnell, expressing the great interest he felt in Whittier College, and recommending that we employ Allen Jay as soliciting agent in the East. He says that sufficient funds are for us in the East to meet all our wants if we will but take the proper steps to secure it. The Board seems enthusiastic over the letter.

Before the end of the year 1874 Whittier received a call from the solicitor. It was the custom at this time to enlist the good offices of Bayard Taylor in Pennsylvania as well as Whittier in Massachusetts. Unfortunately not all the solicitors preserved records of their meetings as did Levi Gregory, but on such visits reports were given the poet about Iowa's work for temperance, the attempts to better the life of the freedmen and Indians, the Iowa Peace Society, and other points about which he asked.

WHITTIER had kept close watch over the activities of the Salem underground railway, which was the nearest to the Missouri border and thus received the greatest number of fugitive slaves. The fugitives were secreted in specially built basements in several Salem homes. A local struggle was in progress with Missouri during the period following the Salem settlement until the end of the Civil War. The Missouri slaveowners never forgave the Salem Quakers, and threatened them with terrible punishment if they ever learned the identity of the leaders of the group. By 1875 it was thought that the enmity had died down sufficiently to let the names of the leaders be known. The commencement at Whittier College in 1875 was planned months ahead to take the form of a "now it can be told" celebration. Whittier and Lydia Maria Child were invited to attend commencement, and each was to give an address, after which the



Lawrie Tatum
Reproduced from frontispiece of *Our Red Brothers,* by Lawrie Tatum, Philadelphia, Winston, 1899

personal testimonies of the abolitionist leaders were to be given with details as to the underground railway, the number of slaves rescued and delivered to Canada, and so on. All proceedings went well until one day early in April one of the Salem Friends found himself near the Missouri line in a heavy rain. He stopped for the night at a tavern; and while drying beside the stove he heard a group of Missourians discussing the Salem abolitionists and their activities. Dire threats were overheard, including the firm determination to burn every building of the men who were responsible for the underground station if their names could be found out. The Salem Quaker, who knew intimately all those instrumental in the underground station work, listened attentively, and the next morning hurried back to Salem and quietly told what he had overheard. The "now it can be told" meeting for commencement was called off. Both Whittier and Lydia Maria Child found it impossible to come to Salem, and the commencement took the usual course. No other "now it can be told" meeting was arranged because the Missourians meant what they said. Many of the details of the underground station died with the abolitionists, but the children and grandchildren later recounted their memories. This information was given the present writer by a grandchild of one of the first Salem pioneers, a prominent and active abolitionist.

Practically all prominent Iowans during this period kept up intimate relations with Whittier. Among these, Josiah Bushnell Grinnell (1821-1891), a Congregational clergyman, ardent abolitionist, and "commonwealth builder," is said to have delivered his first sermon against slavery in Washington, D. C., where he probably first met Whittier. It was to Grinnell that Horace Greeley gave his famous advice, "Go west, young man, go west." Grinnell took Greeley's advice and came to Iowa in 1854, where he purchased a large tract of land in Poweshiek County and founded the town of Grinnell; he became pastor of the Congregational Church, and laid plans for a university. Grinnell College stands today as the fruition of the latter hope. Grinnell attended the convention that made the Iowa Republican Party a power, and in 1856 was elected State senator on a platform of "no liquor shops, free schools for Iowa, and no nationalizing of slavery."

As a friend of John Brown, he became known as one of the leading abolitionists of the State. Grinnell always quoted Whittier and held that the poet was so well known that he could quote him without giving his name. For example, the *Iowa Agricultural Report* for 1869 has an address by Grinnell delivered before the Cedar Valley Agricultural and Mechanical Association, September 16, 1869, in which, by way of praising Iowa, he quotes Edward Everett as saying:

> I would rather live on the bleakest mountain that towers above us, with the wild wolf and rattlesnake for neighbors, with a village school well kept at the bottom, than to dwell in a paradise of fertility, if I must bring up my children in lazy, pampered, self-sufficient ignorance.

In picturing the great future for the West Grinnell believes there will be no lazy, pampered, self-sufficient ignorance. His hopes for the new region are unbounded. He introduces the Whittier quotation with these words:

> The lessons of the past, the latest progress, our clime, the soil, the rewards of toil, and the peculiar home, of which so true—
>
> The rudiments of Empire here
> Are plastic yet, and warm,
> The chaos of a mighty world
> Is rounding into form—
>
> All conspire to summon us to be foremost in the race which joins material interests with artistic development, moral science and religion; all tending to promote our own happiness, and the best interests of those who come after us.

Grinnell had associated himself with Whittier since 1850; and later, writing about these associations, he describes the inspiration he received from his hero:

> . . . the glance of that keen eye, sober mien, and benevolent face, has been an ever-present picture, and his every line seemed more than poetic revery—a gushing, exhilarating flow as from a source of purity for the cheer of the timid and the famishing.

In his later years, Grinnell often visited Whittier in his New England home, where they discussed the great future of Iowa. For thirty-seven years, Grinnell advertised the poet and praised him as the source of his ideals. He and Whittier had a common

While in the midst of earnest work, early on the morning of 12th Mo., 4th, 1885, the College building, with all its contents, a library of 2,000 volumes, a large and valuable cabinet, apparatus and furniture were totally destroyed by fire, leaving the teachers and students without a place to carry on their work. Whittier was truly in ashes. Yet this did not close the college. Friends opened their church, in which the balance of the winter and spring term was held. The brick of the old college was not cold before it was fully determined to rebuild, and although an earnert effort was made, there was much with which to contend, viz: partial failure in crops, other fires, etc., so that even some of the more earnest despaired of accomplishing this excellent work. However, before the chilly blasts of the following winter, the foundation was put in condition for the walls, in which condition it remained during the winter. With the coming spring came new zeal and determination. All seemed to realize that Whittier College was a necessity rather than a luxury, and that we could not do without it.

By strenuous effort the new building was erected and put in condition for School year [illegible] without [illegible] indebtedness and which debt has now become due.

Recognizing, somewhat, the benefits and blessings received in the past, and feeling that never in the history of the College has it been more needed, not only to properly fit our young people for good and useful lives, but we need it as a safeguard against the encroachments of an element (the Roman Catholic) upon our borders, which we feel and believe to be not only detrimental but dangerous to our young. Friends are therefore making diligent and strenuous efforts to raise the necessary means to pay off the debt and place the college on a stronger basis. To this end we earnestly but kindly solicit the co-operation of all, by way of donations of moneys and estates, of books for the library, and specimens for the cabinet; assuring donors that all will be received and carfully used.

Respectfully Solicited
Levi Gregory
Supt of Iowa
& Financial Agt for

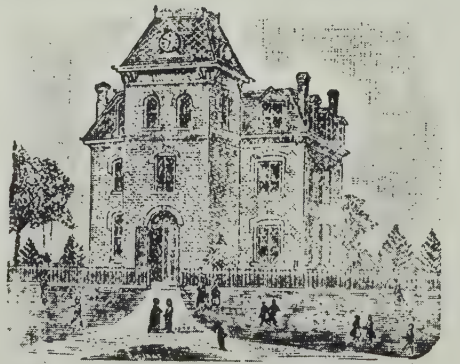
WHITTIER
COLLEGE,
SALEM, IOWA.

J. G. WHITTIER.

AMESBURY, MASS., 6th Mo., 26th, 1868.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I hasten to answer thy note of the 20th. I trust I gratefully appreciate the kind estimation of my life and services which has given my name to the new literary institution, of which thou art secretary; and I beg leave, through thee, to thank the Friends of Salem Q. M. for their marked expression of good will and confidence. May a good Providence so order it that the College may prove of permanent usefulness; and that the bearer of its name may be preserved from any word or act which shall make the selection of that name a cause of regret.

Thine, very truly,
JOHN G. WHITTIER.



WHITTIER COLLEGE, NEW BUILDING.

Salem, the location of this institution is a beautiful village, pleasantly situated, and has about 1,000 inhabitants. The surroundings are especially adapted to such an institution, being free from the detracting influences of other seats of learning. Here we have no saloon, no billiard hall, no bowling alley, no gambling den, or other places whose tendency is of a blighting nature, to attract the attention of the students.

Salem is situated on the St. L., K. & N. W. railroad, a branch of the Burlington Route, and is reached via Mt. Pleasant or Keokuk, Iowa.

Whittier College was organized in the year 1867, under care of Friends, and chartered under the laws of the State of Iowa. It was named in honor of the poet Whittier, who sent the letter of acknowledgment and recognition on page 2, and by a contribution of books to the library, and again in the rebuilding he gave pecuniary aid and word of cheer.

The school was opened for students, May 20th, 1868, and considering its limited means has so far been very successful; having furnished a large number of teachers each year to the surrounding country, and prepared others for colleges and universities elsewhere; also giving to hundreds a practical business education, which they could not otherwise have obtained; also graduating a large number who have shown, from their after life the good effects of the institution, and lastly, but not least, given not only moral tone to the character, but religious teachings and training to hundreds, many of whom are doing earnest work for the Master.

Appeal for funds, sent out by Whittier College in 1868
From a photograph of the only known copy, which is in the possession of Rev. E. L. Gregory

veneration for Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era,* which, through Grinnel, reached many an Iowa home.

IN 1870 the Iowa Peace Society was organized at Mount Pleasant under the influence of the Friends of Henry County. This proved to be another medium through which Whittier's ideas and influence spread throughout the frontier. Mount Pleasant, which for some reason has been neglected by the historians of the cultural history of the Middle West, proved in many other ways to be a mediating center by which the ideas and ideals of the Quakers leavened the thinking of the other pioneers. To Mount Pleasant came Amos Bronson Alcott in January 1873, when he lectured on "New England Authors" and told about Whittier; in November 1874; and in March 1881. On these occasions Alcott stayed at the home of William Rémy Cole, the Unitarian missionary and temperance advocate. Mrs. Cole was also an ardent worker for temperance and social purity. Immediately following Alcott's first visit to Mount Pleasant in 1873, there was founded the *Conversation Club* of Mount Pleasant. In this club, subjects dear to the heart of Whittier were discussed. Among the subjects listed for "conversations" in Mount Pleasant was "New England Authors," in which Whittier and his work were praised. As Jennie Shrader Wilson was the first to teach American literature west of the Mississippi, Bronson Alcott was the first to lecture on American literature.

It was through one of these many admirers that the only existing manuscript of Whittier's early poem "The Willow," written in 1826, came to Iowa. When Pickard wrote the *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* he noted that this early poem, a parody on "The Old Oaken Bucket," existed only in one manuscript and was then [1894] "in possession of Charles Aldrich of the Iowa State Library."

The number of Whittier's poems reprinted in Iowa newspapers is astounding. Practically all his shorter poems found their way at the time of their first printing into one or another of the frontier papers. Dr. Luella Wright has examined for me the *Cedar Falls Gazette,* and the record for 1860-1862 is in part as follows:

May 23, 1860	"The West"
Nov. 23, 1860	"Telling the Bees" in the section "From Field and Garden," edited by Peter Melendy
Nov. 28, 1869	"Corn Song," idem
Jan. 4, 1861	"Naples 1860 Inscribed to Robert C. Waterston of Boston"
April 5, 1861	"Red River Voyageur"

The *Cedar Falls Gazette* for September 27, 1861 has this "Anecdote of John Greenleaf Whittier":

They tell the following story of the amiable Quaker poet: On a recent occasion he was travelling with a friend over a New Hampshire railroad and during a conversation Mr. Whittier's friend who is also a member of the society of Friends, told the poet he was on his way to contract for a lot of oak lumber, which he knew would be used in building the gunboats at Portsmouth, and asked him whether he thought it was exactly in consistence with the peace doctrines of the Quaker denomination. Without saying anything calculated to decide the question, the two arrived at their parting place, when Mr. Whittier, shaking his friend's hand, said, "Moses, if thee *does* furnish any of that oak timber thee spoke of, *be sure that it is all sound.*" From *Boston Journal.*

The *Cedar Falls Gazette* for February 7, 1862 has the following:

THE PROHIBITED SONG

In compliance with the request of several persons, says the New York *Tribune,* we reprint the admirable poem by Whittier, which the Hutchinsons were not allowed to sing on the other side of the Potomac, Gen. Kearney or Gen. Franklin having solemnly declared it to be incendiary, whereupon Gen. McClellan has forbidden them to sing within his lines at all. Our readers will notice that this poem is suggested by a famous hymn of Martin Luther:

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.
(Luther's Hymn)
We wait upon the furnace blast
The pangs of transformation . . .
(10 stanzas)

The *Cedar Falls Gazette* for June 6, 1862 has the following:

ASTRAEA AT THE CAPITOL
Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia 1862
by John G. Whittier
When first I saw our banner wave
Above the nation's council hall . . .
(17 stanzas) from *Atlantic Monthly*

The same issue contains Whittier's "A Dream of Summer" in Melendy's "Field and Garden" section. As soon as Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie" appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly,* it was reprinted in the *Cedar Falls Gazette* and in time in all the papers on the frontier. George D. Perkins, the editor, as well as Peter Melendy, editor of the "Field and Garden" section, seems to have been a devoted reader of the *Atlantic,* since he usually enumerated the contents of the numbers as they appeared.

V

ANOTHER way in which Whittier's reputation in Iowa kept flourishing was through lectures from the East, the active literary societies, the parlor reading circles, and the continuous temperance work.

In 1867 Grace Greenwood, for many years a devoted friend of Whittier, lectured in Iowa. Well known as the author of *Greenwood Leaves,* published in 1850, and editor of *The Little Pilgrim,* one of the early monthly magazines for children, she was loved by young and old. Her fame was heightened because of her friendship for Whittier. In 1854 Miss Greenwood married Leander K. Lippincott, but she always looked to Whittier as the strongest influence on both her private and her literary life. In Iowa in January 1867 she lectured on "Heroes in Common Life," a subject admirably suited to her. One of her stories, "A Night of Years," found its way into the *Buchanan County Bulletin* at Independence, Iowa in the issue of March 5, 1869. We may be sure that wherever she lectured she brought news of Whittier to many inquiring admirers of the poet who had been so influential in saving Iowa in the slavery crisis.[13]

Preceding Grace Greenwood by one year was James E. Murdock, who lectured on "An Evening with the Poets" in Iowa in January 1866. Among the poems he read and discussed was Whittier's ballad "Barbara Frietchie," which was written in the fall of 1863, and had rapidly become an Iowa favorite, recalling the romantic side of the war. Bayard Taylor, long a close friend

[13] Grace Greenwood lectured at Mount Pleasant, to the delight of the Friends in near-by Salem. She probably told them much about Whittier, and in turn carried to Whittier much information about Iowa.

of Whittier, lectured in Iowa and brought news of the poet, as did Ralph Waldo Emerson. Horace Greeley, who lectured in Iowa as early as January 6, 1858 on "Poets and Poetry," was also a friend of Whittier, who valued him as he did Sumner for his fearless political stand, and called him "our later Franklin." Anna E. Dickinson, greatly beloved as a lecturer in Iowa, was a friend of long standing since Whittier had worked with her father, John Dickinson, in Philadelphia, as early as 1837. Others of Whittier's friends to lecture in Iowa were Wendell Phillips; Frederick Douglass, the colored orator, whose admiration for Whittier was unbounded; Julia Ward Howe; J. G. Holland; Emerson; and Amos Bronson Alcott. What national figure ever had such an array of talent coming to a distant State as friendly apostles?

The last named, Amos Bronson Alcott, lectured in Iowa in 1870, 1872, 1873, and 1874, and in 1881. Preferring a "conversation" to the formal lecture, Alcott usually spoke, though he had other topics, on "New England Authors." In his conversations, Alcott, like Socrates, dispensed with a written manuscript, but a general impression can be obtained from his conversation given at Iowa City on December 26, 1872, on his favorite theme, "New England Authors." The Iowa City report was given at some length in the local newspaper:[14]

> The speaker, without formal introduction, announced his subject, asking that his partiality be excused if he dwelt rather lovingly upon the authors resident in Concord, his own home, since he had a pride in the town and its people. There was had the first struggle of the Revolution, and to quote Emerson's line,
>
> Was fired the shot heard 'round the world.
>
> From Concord has gone out that sentiment which has given shape to thought, not only in New England, but in the West.
>
> In speaking of the authors to be sketched, a little canvass is necessary upon which to spread their portraits, as their story must begin even before their birth and biography.
>
> Distinctive Americanism began with this century; up to that time we had been Englishmen; it is only since then that American genius appeared in our literature and life.

In the report of the 1872 conversation on "New England Authors" at Iowa City, Alcott dwelt on Dr. Channing as devel-

[14] *Iowa City Daily Press,* December 27, 1872.

oping an American theology "in connection with the evolution of fresh ideas in theology." This he held was proper since "the theology of a people determines their institutions." This observation might equally have been applied to Whittier, since Whittier's theology did affect the institution of slavery for America. The reporter for the *Iowa City Daily Press* mentions Emerson and Thoreau, and finally reached Whittier, where Alcott's words are condensed as follows:

> Whittier is likely to live as long as any of our American poets. Is a plain man, a Quaker.

On his lecture tour of Iowa in the preceding year, Alcott had given a conversation on "New England Authors" in which he had discussed Whittier in the following terms:

> Whittier is the most truly American poet and is likely to be remembered as long as any of our poets.[15]

Putting these brief reports together we can form some notion of the verdict which Alcott brought to Iowa about Whittier, who he probably knew was greatly beloved by young and old in the State. To Whittier he seems to have paid the highest tribute, first in calling him "the most truly American"—a phrase which certainly appealed to Iowans; and second in saying that he would "be remembered as long as any of our poets"—again the highest praise. It seems from the reports of the conversations which have come down that Alcott talked more about Emerson than about any other person except his own daughter, Louisa, about whom he never tired of talking; but Emerson had lectured in Iowa and was by no means a great favorite. Emerson was too "philosophical." He read poorly, and appealed only to the most recondite. How Emerson would have coveted the tribute of being called "the most truly American poet"! But that would have sounded hollow and insincere to Iowans in the 1870's or even in the 1880's.

[15] *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 7, 1871, quoted by Hoeltje in *Journal of History and Politics,* July 1931, p. 397. Alcott gave this lecture-conversation at least once in each Iowa town he visited. Although he varied his words somewhat, Iowans heard from him exceedingly high praise for Whittier.

Bronson Alcott gave his conversations in Iowa at the beginning of the year 1871, but he did not visit Whittier College. The college, however, rejoiced in the report of the lectures and determined to have Whittier fulfil his long cherished desire to visit the West. The College, accordingly, invited him to deliver the commencement address in August. He seems to have given considerable hope that he might come. The *Salem Register* for August 12, 1871 announced with pride:

> It is rumored that J. G. Whittier will attend Commencement at Whittier College on the 31 inst.

What a triumph Whittier would have had if he had crossed the Mississippi! He would have been hailed as a savior of freedom in Iowa, as the most American poet, as one of the founders of the Republican Party, as the creator and benefactor of a college which bore his name, as the man who gave freedom to the slave. Perhaps the title to being one of the founders of the Republican Party would have pleased him most, since he was one of the first to suggest the Republican Party and he always counted himself, exactly as did the Iowa Quaker Republicans, as one of the founders of the Party. But the humble Quaker overcame any desire for fame, and Whittier decided not to make the trip to Salem. The *Salem Register,* however, on September 1, 1871, published an extra containing the commencement address on the poet. The invitation to be the Whittier College commencement speaker was repeated, but Whittier never crossed the Mississippi. His attitude was like that of the aged Friend at West Branch who went to school with Hulda Minthorn, who later became the mother of Herbert Hoover. The aged Friend told the present writer about the little girl who "was always good in mathematics," and how she later became a Quaker preacher. The church in which she preached is now a garage. When the present writer suggested that the garage should be restored to its original form as a memorial to Mrs. Hoover, the aged man replied, "The physical is not important. We don't want that kind of a memorial. The Spirit, only, is important." And the aged man was absolutely correct. Today this man sleeps near the old Scattergood Quaker school which has this year become a haven

for German refugees. Thus the active benevolence goes on. It was in this same spirit that Whittier at the height of his fame, when he was idolized in Iowa, refused an invitation which would have been for him a triumphal entry into his beloved West.

IN THE 1870's Whittier's reputation in Iowa was enhanced (if that were possible) through the many college literary societies, as well as through the literary and study clubs known as "parlor reading circles." The literary societies of Whittier College, already described from the Wright diary, were typical of literary societies in all the Iowa colleges of the time. The group at Cedar Falls, Iowa, the seat of the Iowa State Teachers College, may be taken as representative of the parlor reading circles. The reading circle was founded the same year as the college, in 1876, and in this year D. Sands Wright relinquished the presidency of Whittier College to become one of the first professors in the new school at Cedar Falls. As a matter of course, the parlor reading circles studied Whittier.

The minutes of the Circle for 1877 record a resumé of "an original essay" on Longfellow and Whittier. A few sentences, splendid examples of Romantic diction, illustrate the attitude felt toward Whittier in Iowa:

> Whittier swings from the summit of the Delectable Mountains with wide extended horizons; Longfellow touches the aesthetic parts of our nature; Whittier touches our heart; Longfellow improves our tastes, and widens our culture. Whittier strengthens our purpose and develops our spirituality.[16]

It is interesting to note the allusions to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in the paper. In the 1870's everybody, young and old, read John Bunyan's *magnum opus*; today, in the Middle West, John Bunyan is studied in colleges as a "seventeenth-century writer," while Paul Bunyan holds the stage. Today Iowa boasts of its high standing in literacy, often unmindful that this is due to the fact that the pioneers who settled the State were among the most remarkable men and women of their age.

---

[16] See the excellent study of this reading circle by Luella M. Wright in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Oct. 1936.

The Cedar Falls Parlor Reading Circle program of study for the ninth season, 1884-1885, presented as its eleventh subject a study of Whittier's "Snow-Bound." The program is as follows:[17]

Eleventh Study—
Time—Tuesday evening, February 10th
Place—Residence of Hon. E. Tounshend
Leader—Mrs. [John Quincy Adams] Crosby
Topic—Whittier's "Snow-Bound"

1. Short sketch of Whittier's life
2. His earlier poems
3. Their legendary character
4. Their popularity compared to his later writings
5. His Voices of Freedom
6. The Reformatory Nature of his poems at this time
7. Their influence on the downfall of slavery
8. "Snow-Bound"—Selections
9. On family affection
10. On freedom
11. On Religious Trust
12. War poems, 1863
13. Mention of his prose works
14. Miscellaneous selections
15. Conversation (A discussion of Whittier)

This outline was published and preserved in the Year Book of the Circle.

The *Cedar Falls Gazette* for March 13, 1885 has this report of the Whittier evening:

> One of the largest and pleasantest gatherings of this well-known Circle, was held at the residence of Prof. Bartlett, Tuesday evening, March 10th . . . (after music). Mrs. Crosby, the leader, introduced the subject of the evening, Whittier and his "Snow-Bound," by giving a sketch of his life, Miss Addie Currier spoke of his earlier poems, their legendary character, and their popularity as compared with his later writings. Prof. Wright spoke in high praise of his "Voices of Freedom," the reformatory nature of his poems at this time, and his influence on the downfall of slavery. The power of the poet over the masses of the people, as compared with that of other writers, speakers or influential men, was discussed by the Circle in general. Miss Flint read a selection from his "Voices of Freedom." Mrs. Brigham [wife of the Superintendent of Schools] read selections

[17] The writer is indebted to Dr. Luella M. Wright for this and the following notes on the Cedar Falls Parlor Reading Circle.

from "Snow-Bound" illustrating the author's idea of family affection; Mrs. Overman read selections illustrating religious trust; and Prof. Hull [Professor at the Normal School], read a short poem entitled "Worship." His "War Poems of 1862" were discussed by Prof. Bartlett [Prof. of English at the Normal School] and other members. [The remainder of the article deals with the music of the evening and announcements.]

The *Cedar Falls Gazette* for February 13, 1892, comments as follows on another Whittier evening held by the circle on February 9, 1892:

Topic: Five Favourite Authors

Leaders and authors:

1. Mrs. Al Grundy: Dr. Holmes
2. Prof. Albert Loughridge: Motley
   [Prof. Loughridge taught Latin at the Norman School. He was a returned missionary from India.]
3. Nellis Walbank: Helen Hunt Jackson
4. Dr. Chase: Mother Goose
5. Mrs. D. S. Wright: Whittier

After intermission, Mrs. Wright introduced our Quaker poet, Whittier. Her remarks as to why she chose him were particularly pleasing. She spoke of Whittier as a man whose life corresponds with his written sentiments, and his methods of presenting great wrongs and great truths. Two selections followed: One from "Snow-Bound" which she said, was to New England what "The Deserted Village" is to Old England. She also compared it to the "Cotter's Saturday Night." The closing was a selection from "The Eternal Goodness."

The *Cedar Falls Gazette* for September 21, 1894 noted a meeting on September 17 at the home of Dr. F. A. Bryant:

Topic: New Books of the year.

A committee selected to suggest a fifty-book library list, intended for the use of the average family of ordinary tastes and requirements, to be resorted to for information, culture, and entertainment, suggests the following American poets: Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, Bryant.

VI

THERE WERE placed at the disposal of the present writer in 1937 the voluminous manuscripts of Jennie Shrader Wilson.[18] The manuscripts contain an unpublished anthology, entitled "The

[18] These manuscripts together with the Whittier letter are in the possession of Dr. Donald L. Crissinger, of Iowa City, Iowa, through whose kindness they have been made available to the present writer.

Cloud Illumined," upon which Mrs. Wilson worked all her life. As originally planned, it seems to have been divided into five sections, one of which dealt with Whittier.

Jennie Shrader Wilson, one of Iowa's most remarkable pioneer teachers, was born near Marietta, Ohio, in 1837. According to the family tradition, she attended Marietta Academy, later coming to Iowa with her parents, where, with the exception of a few years of work as a missionary in the Nebraska frontier, she spent her active life. The Shraders were ardent abolitionists back in Ohio and kept their zeal and fervor after coming to Iowa. Thus as a girl Jennie Shrader was early attracted to Whittier, and began while yet very young to collect his poems as they appeared in various papers. Her anthology contains excerpts from a large number of poems, and is important for the fact that, for some of the selections, it preserves the earliest version. Evidently the Shraders subscribed to most of the publications in which Whittier published. This was common among the abolitionists, and especially among the Iowa Quakers. The present writer has been told by the descendants of the pioneers who settled Salem, Iowa, that the *National Era* was widely read by Iowans. Thus were Whittier's poems collected and republished in the local newspapers.

The Whittier section in Jennie Shrader's anthology has as motto the last two lines of "The Eternal Goodness":

> Forgive me if too close I lean
> My human heart on Thee.

These lines truly express the reverence and admiration which Jennie Shrader felt all her life for Whittier. It was never her good fortune to see Whittier in the flesh, to speak with him, to hear from his own lips permission to copy and to publish his poems; but the poet never had a more ardent and appreciative admirer than this poet-missionary on the western frontier. Unfortunately there is no way to determine the extent of the correspondence that passed between them, since one letter only has survived.[19] This letter was written to Whittier in 1886 and

[19] This letter has been published by the present writer in the *Palimpsest* for September 1937 and in the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Spring Number, 1939.

gave his personal permission to use a selection from his poems. It was then that Jennie Shrader hoped to publish her anthology.

Three years later, however, she married the Rev. Joseph M. Wilson, a Presbyterian minister, and with him went to Humphrey, Nebraska, a pioneer settlement which had been platted in 1880 and named by the first postmistress, a pioneer from Humphrey, New, York. Near Humphrey the Federal government had established in 1884 an industrial school for the Pawnee Indians, whose reservation covered most of the region. Joseph Wilson had all his life been interested in the Indians, and, according to the family, told in his later years many tales of his pioneer church work in the Indian country. Nebraska history records Mr. Wilson as holding meetings in 1869 in Columbus from which the Presbyterian church of the town developed, and Mr. Wilson remained as pastor until June 1873. He was likewise instrumental in establishing the Presbyterian church at Madison. In 1876 he was pastor at Tracy Valley. The *Leigh World* for November 28, 1930, commenting on this, adds in regard to Mr. Wilson: "previously [before 1876], he had been a missionary to the Indians in this part of the country." "Reminiscences of an old settler" [name not given] in Phillips's *Past and Present of Platte County,* vol. i, page 338 f has this to say:

> We arrived in Columbus the week of the great Chicago Fire, that was in 1871. . . We stopped over night at "Pap" Clother's. Next morning we met a young Presbyterian minister named Joseph Wilson. Joe was coming out to Madison County on horse back to see the man Madison County was named after—Henry Madison Barns. . .[20]

In 1883 the Presbyterian church at Humphrey was organized and in 1889 Rev. Joseph M. Wilson went with his bride, Jennie Shrader, to the frontier church as its second pastor.

Jennie Shrader Wilson entered upon the new work with zeal and enthusiasm. Her early life, under the influence of Whittier, she had dedicated, with that of her family, to abolitionism; her later life, likewise under Whittier's influence, she wanted to give for the cause of the Indians on the frontier. She was also

[20]The present writer is indebted to Mrs. Loraine Ferris of the Nebraska State Historical Society for the information regarding Rev. Joseph M. Wilson's early work in Nebraska.

intensely interested in the history of the frontier as a part of American history. Earlier in her life, according to the family tradition, while teaching at Brooklyn, Iowa, about 1880, she had completed the manuscript of an American history. But, to her intense disappointment, when the manuscript was about to be submitted to a publisher, another history appeared on the market, a copy of which was sent her from the publisher. The ground was covered, and her manuscript doomed to be forgotten. But the anthology went with her to Humphrey, where she continued to work on it. Thus this part of Nebraska first heard of Whittier through these two devoted missionaries. Into the Sunday sermons crept poems by Whittier, and in the midweek teaching the Indians and pioneers alike often heard the Gospel as interpreted by the Quaker poet. To Jennie Shrader Wilson, Whittier's poems were the Newer Testament, the latest revelation. In them she heard again the teaching of her childhood with its reverence for the Bible.

Near the beginning of the Whittier section of the anthology stands a poem entitled "The Book." This excerpt, now included in the *Collected Works* as a stanza of "Miriam," she may have renamed or she may have found it so printed in some frontier-town newspaper. However that may be, this portion of Whittier served as a guide to her as she answered the call to the frontier mission church:

> We search the world for truth: we cull
> The good, the pure, the beautiful,
> From graven stone and written scroll,
> From all old flower-fields of the soul;
> And, weary seekers of the best,
> We come back laden from our quest,
> To find that all the sages said
> Is in the Book our mothers read.

She seems to have worked out an expression of her religious life with excerpts from Whittier; for here one finds reverence for the Bible and for the hand of God in shaping history, belief in immortality, respect for the new-born scientific attitude, and self-consecration to a great cause. The following excerpt from "The Last Walk in Autumn" followed the excerpt entitled "The Book":

Better to stem with heart and hand
The roaring tide of life, than lie,
Unmindful, on its flowery strand
Of God's occasions drifting by!
Better with naked nerve to bear
The needles of this goading air,
Than, in the lap of sensual ease, forego
The Godlike power to do, the Godlike aim to know.

And then came an excerpt which seemed to her to unite the essence of Whittier's Quakerism with her own Presbyterianism:

We shape ourselves the joy or fear
Of which the coming life is made,
And fill our Future's atmosphere
With sunshine or with shade.
The tissue of the life to be
We weave with colors all our own,
And in the field of Destiny
We reap as we have sown.

She believed in utter sincerity in all words and works, and chose the following excerpt from "The Chapel of the Hermits" as her text:

Search thine own heart. What paineth thee
In others, in thyself may be:
All dust is frail, all flesh is weak;
Be thou the true man thou dost seek!

To the above she added as a further expression of her religion these lines from Whittier's "Miriam":

Wherever through the ages rise
The altars of self-sacrifice,
Where love its arms has opened wide,
Or man for man has calmly died,
I see the same white wings outspread
That hovered o'er the Master's head.

When "The Seeking of the Waterfall" appeared in 1878, she selected certain parts, giving special emphasis to these lines:

To seek is better than to gain,
The fond hope dies as we attain;
Life's fairest things are those which seem,
The best is that of which we dream.
. . . . . .

And ever more the end shall tell
The unreached ideal guided well.

. . . . . .

And every wish for better things
Our undreamed beauty nearer brings.

Since 1865, when "The Eternal Goodness" appeared, it had been a part of her expression of the religious life. Several passages from other poems, mainly of the religious and ethical type, made up the basis of her teaching. The passages are too numerous to reproduce, but enough has been given to show how Whittier's humanitarianism and prophetic morality molded the career of this pioneer poet-missionary.

The anthology continues with certain poems which help to reconstruct the history of Whittier's creative art. "Snow-Bound" had a prominent place after its publication in 1886, but this poem was printed and reprinted in Iowa, and became a definite part of the repertoire of all public-school exhibitions. The same year saw the publication of "Our Master," which Jennie Shrader probably first popularized, as it appears in the anthology and seems to have influenced her own attempts at hymn writing.

Jennie Shrader acquired an early interest in languages, probably gained in Ohio. Her anthology has translations from practically all European languages. Hence when Whittier's "Angel of Patience" appeared, with the notation "a free paraphrase of the German," it interested her so that she seems to have copied it early. Unfortunately the anthology contains no dates, and the reconstruction must be tentative.

Next come the following verses from Whittier entitled "Immortality." Since these lines appear in the Cambridge edition as a section of "Lucy Hooper," which was published in 1841, they are reproduced exactly as she copied them in the anthology, to show her emphasis, and perhaps the form in which she first read them.

IMMORTALITY

Even as thou wast I see thee still;
And, save the absence of all ill,
And pain and weariness, which here
Summoned the sigh or wrung the tear,

The same as when, two summers back,
Beside our childhood's Merrimac,
I saw thy dark eyes wander o'er
Stream, sunny upland, rocky shore,
And heard thy low, soft voice alone
Midst lapse of waters, and the tone
Of pine leaves by the west-wind blown.
There's not a charm of soul or brow—
  Of all we knew and loved in thee—
But lives in holier beauty now,
  Baptized in immortality!

. . . . . .

No!—I have *Friends* [*sic*] in Spirit Land—
Not shadows in a shadowy band,
  Not *others* [*sic*], but *themselves* [*sic*] are they.
And still I think of them the same
As when the Master's summons came;
Their change—the holy morn-light breaking
Upon the dream-worn sleeper, waking—
A change from twilight into day.

. . . . . .

Farewell! A little time, and we
  Who knew thee well, and loved thee here,
One after one shall follow thee
  As pilgrims through the gate of fear,
Which opens on eternity.

It is possible that some frontier newspaper printed the poem in part as above. In some instances Jennie Shrader noted that an extract came from a certain poem. Here there is no notation beyond the italicized lines and the dots noting omissions. The poem as printed was one that appealed forcibly to the emotions of the frontiersman.

The next poem in the anthology to merit attention is entitled "The Worship of the Waters." There has been no little confusion about this poem, which appears in later editions as "The Worship of Nature." As a matter of fact, the "Worship of the Waters" was an earlier poem part of which was later used in "The Worship of Nature" and hence not reprinted in the Cambridge edition. For this reason, the poem is here given exactly as it appears in the anthology:

THE WORSHIP OF THE WATERS

The ocean looketh up to heaven,
As 'twere a living thing;
The homage of its waves are [*sic*] given
In ceaseless worshiping.

They kneel upon the sloping sand,
As bends the human knee;
A beautiful and tireless band,
The priesthood of the sea!

They pour the glittering treasure out,
Which in the deep have birth,
And chant their awful hymns about
The watching hills of earth.

A careful study of the above in connection with "The Worship of Nature" on page 261 of the Cambridge edition will show Whittier's proneness to revise, rewrite, and rename his poems.

A similar rewriting is found in the poem entitled "Arbutus," written before 1880, probably much earlier, which in the anthology appears as follows:

ARBUTUS

I wandered lonely where the pine-trees made
Against the bitter east their barricade;
And guided by its sweet
Perfume, I found, within a narrow dell,
Amid dry moss and dead leaves at my feet,
The trailing spring flower, tinted like a shell.

And bending o'er it not irreverent,
I thought of lives thus lowly clogged and pent,
Which yet found room,
Through daily cumberings of deep decay and death,
To give to Heaven the sweetness of their breath,
And to earth the beauty of their bloom.

A comparison of the above with "The Trailing Arbutus" in the Cambridge edition page 164 will show another case of reworking in the later period.

The anthology contains as a separate poem, entitled "A Year of Time," the following selection from "The Last Walk in Autumn":

Rich gift of God! A year of time!
What pomp of rise and shut of day,
What hues wherewith our Northern clime
Makes autumn's dropping woodlands gay,
What airs outblown from ferny dells,
And clover-bloom and sweet-brier smells,
What songs of brooks and birds, what fruits and flowers,
Green woods and moonlit snows, have in its round been ours!

This poem again shows the manner in which Whittier found his way into the minds of the Iowa pioneers. It is likely that this appeared in a local newspaper under the above title.

The anthology contains "The Eve of Election," evidently copied from the *National Era* of January 21, 1858. It also contains "Our Country" in a version slightly different from that contained in the Cambridge edition. The sixth stanza, for example, in the anthology version reads as follows:

Each poor wretch, in his prison cell
Or gallows-noose, is interviewed;
We know the single sinner well,
And not the nine and ninety good.

It is interesting to note the large number of the earlier poems. Among others, the following fourteen, some in excerpts, give a good idea of the popularity of Whittier's poems in the Middle West before Jennie Shrader wrote her letter in 1886 asking the poet's permission to republish his poems in her anthology:

1829 Worship of the Waters (The ocean looketh . . .)
1841 Lucy Hooper (excerpts)
1847 The Angel of Patience (From the German)
1851 The Chapel of the Hermits (excerpts)
1857 The Last Walk in Autumn (excerpts)
1858 The Eve of Election (*National Era,* January 21, 1858)
1865 The Eternal Goodness
1866 Our Master
1866 Snow-Bound (excerpts)
1871 Miriam (excerpts)
1874 The Prayer of Agassiz (excerpt)
1876 Sunset on the Bearcamp
1878 The Seeking of the Waterfall (excerpts)
1883 Our Country

From 1889 until about 1892, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson carried on their missionary work among the pioneers and Indians near the Pawnee Reservation; then they returned to Iowa, where Mr. Wilson studied medicine to help in his missionary work. Instead of returning to Nebraska, however, they went to Urbana, Iowa, where about 1896 they founded the Urbana Shrader Academy. Jennie Shrader Wilson served as principal and taught literature.[21] This gave her the long-sought opportunity to complete her anthology, and to teach her chosen subject. As her anthology manuscripts show, she taught what is now called "world literature," although the major portion was devoted to what was really American literature.

Jennie Shrader Wilson thus became the first to teach American literature west of the Mississippi, and probably the first to teach American literature in the United States. Her anthology shows an amazing list of writers, including beside Whittier, to whom she seems to have devoted the major attention, Holmes, Irving, Bayard Taylor, Mark Twain, Timothy Dwight, Jonathan Edwards, Prescott, Hawthorne, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, Channing, Theodore Parker, N. J. Willis, Horace Bushnell, Poe, John G. Saxe, Bryant, Louisa M. Alcott, J. G. Holland, E. P. Roe, Celia Thaxter, Lydia Maria Child, William Lloyd Garrison, Bancroft, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster, Joaquin Miller, Horace Mann, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Grace Greenwood, James Freeman Clarke, Alice and Phoebe Cary, Richard Henry Dana, Wendell Phillips, Helen Hunt [Jackson], Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Thoreau, Lucy Larcom, Bret Harte, T. B. Aldrich, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Benjamin Franklin, Charles F. Brooks (his translations from German), George P. Marsh, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, William H. Seward, Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln, Julia Ward Howe, John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Gail Hamilton, Margaret Fuller, R. W. Gilder, Thomas Buchanan Read, George D. Prentice, and Mrs. Elizabeth Payson Prentiss.[22] It seems that she had a highly developed historical

[21] The present writer has given an account of the Urbana Shrader Academy in the *Palimpsest* for September 1937.

[22] The European authors in the Anthology have been discussed by the present writer in the *Palimpsest* for September 1937.

sense and taught the writers in relation to political, social, and religious movements of their times.

During all this time she was hoping to have her anthology published, but there is no record of correspondence in regard to permission to use copyrighted material except in the case of Whittier. The burden of teaching and principalship became ever more exacting. In 1904 her husband, Rev. Joseph M. Wilson, who had taught Latin and history, died. Soon the task of carrying on the academy became too great, and Jennie Shrader Wilson retired to devote the remainder of her life to the completion of her Whittier anthology and to the composition of her own poems.[23]

THUS by the beginning of the twentieth century Whittier's reputation in Iowa had reached the highest point to which any writer's fame in the Middle West had come. He had been taught in the public and mission schools even to the end of the Nebraska frontier; he had become the subject of an elaborate anthology; his poems had been copied in most of the Iowa newspapers; a college had been named for him and partially supported by him; he was hailed as the founder of the Republican Party and the savior of freedom for the Middle West; his writings were honored next to the Bible, and taught from pulpits of other churches as well as by the Quaker groups; he was looked upon as a prophet and leader of humanitarian movements. No other writer outside of the writers of the Bible approached him in influence; none was held in so great veneration. When Whittier wrote young Lewelling in Salem, Iowa, in 1870, that a life of helpfulness to mankind was preferable to a life of literary leisure, he expressed his own philosophy. And this philosophy, the Iowa pioneers believed, he took from the old paradox of Jesus: the man who seeks to save his life shall lose it. Whittier earned undying fame in the New West because the pioneers felt his sincerity, his religious leadership, his utter abandon to unselfish creative causes. The pioneers took seriously the New Testament injunction to seek *first* the Kingdom, and they believed with

[23] The original poems still exist in manuscript unpublished except for those published by the present writer in the *Palimpsest* for September 1937.

Whittier that all other things would in time be added unto them. The pioneers also saw in Whittier the incarnation of their own terrible resentment to injustice. But perhaps most important of all, the pioneers saw in Whittier, as Bronson Alcott suggested to them, the poet who was typically American, the embodiment of the best that America was destined to produce.[24]

A WHITTIER NOTE

ANY ACCOUNT of the antislavery movement or of antislavery leaders in America is sure to have some interest for Quaker historians. *The Letters of James Gillespie Birney 1831-1857,* edited by Dwight L. Dumond (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938) are no exception. Two letters describing Whittier may be cited as evidence. They were written to Birney in 1837, urging him to accept the nomination as corresponding secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Whittier's disqualifications are mentioned because he had been selected as alternate for the office in case Birney declined. Theodore D. Weld wrote (p. 383): "Now Whittier will never do. He has no influence in any denomination of Christians except his own and not a particle of sway over the *ministry.* Instead of carrying into the office the *confidence* of the churches of different denominations, he would be obliged to use his office to create a confidence in him. A very slow and uphill business—besides he never speaks in public—has no talent for business and is *timid.*"

Henry B. Stanton wrote (p. 408): "Before I speak of yourself, let me refer to friend Whittier. He makes a pretty good secretary—is quite good at executing a plan after it is laid out to his hands, but has no power of originating—is rather poetical in his temper, i.e. *unstable,* subject to low spirits, hypo, etc.—is a Quaker from head to foot,—is rather careless in his business habits, in a word, needs as much supervision, as to details, as a clerk. Were it not for these things, he would make an admirable Secretary; for he possesses an excellant [*sic*] knowledge of the whole subject of Slavery, is well acquainted with men,—with the present attitude of the public mind—has a good judgment—is apt at drafting papers (bating a little for poetry in style) etc. But for the purposes for which we need an additional Secretary, he is not the man at all. In public estimation, he brings not an ounce of weighty influence to our Committee, except among poets, and the Society of Friends. And, so far from aiding us, because he is a Quaker, that very fact would injure us. We are a little too Quaker now, in the estimation of the Conservative party."

[24] The writer of this article acknowledges most gratefully the assistance of Mr. T. Franklin Currier in helping to date and verify several of Whittier's poems.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices that have appeared in recent issues of the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Raymond F. Brittain, 49 South Euclid Avenue, Bellevue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *The History of the Friendly Association.* (A study of the purpose and acts of the Association, plus related political, economic, and social details, 1756 ff.) University of Pittsburgh, Religious History, Ph.D. Research begun.

Nelson R. Burr, 36 Lexington Road, West Hartford, Connecticut. *History of Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey.* (Extends to the general revision of the State education laws in 1871, and includes chapters on the educational efforts of Friends.) Princeton University, History, Ph.D. 1934. Completed but may be revised.

Elliston Farrell, 34 Prospect Park West, Brooklyn, New York. *William Hillary, M.D.* (Life and works, with sketches of contemporary Yorkshire, Barbadoes, and London.) Material partly completed.

W. B. Fulghum, Jr., 3856 Jerome, Niles Center, Illinois. *Walt Whitman and Quakerism.* (An attempt to show the essential Quaker [*i.e.* Hicksite] element in Whitman's religion as revealed in his prose and poetry.) Northwestern University, English, Ph.D. Material partly completed.

Clifton Joseph Furness, New England Conservatory of Music, Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. *Biography of Walt Whitman.* (A complete and definitive study of Whitman's life and work.) Material almost completed. To be published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940.

Howard W. Hintz, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York. *The Quaker Influence in American Literature.* (A study—in summary—of eight American authors revealing evidence of the Quaker influence: Penn, Paine, Woolman, Brockden Brown, Cooper, Emerson, Whitman, Whittier; and a concluding paper discussing some dozen other authors.) Articles appearing serially in *Friends Intelligencer;* their publication in book form is being planned.

Dorothy G. B. Hubbard, 6 Acacia Road, Bournville, Birmingham, England. *Early Quaker Education in the British Isles.* (Theory and practice from the time of Fox to approximately the end of the eighteenth century.) Material about half completed.

Thomas M. Jones, 29 Overhill Place, Yonkers, New York. *Educational Policies in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends in the Nineteenth Century.* (Deals primarily with schools under the meetings and with Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges, with respect to policy rather than curriculum, finance, or other details.) Haverford College, History, M.A. 1939. Material completed.

Donald L. Kemmerer, 1006 West Armory Avenue, Champaign, Illinois. *The Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey, 1702-1776.* (A study of the political issues in colonial New Jersey during the royal period, with particular emphasis on disputes between the assembly and the governor.) Princeton University, History, Ph.D. 1934. To be published by the Princeton University Press, 1939 or early in 1940.

Robert J. Leach, South Ashburnham, Massachusetts. *Elisha Bates 1817-1827: The Influence of an Ohio Publisher upon Quaker Reform.* Ohio State University, History, M.A. 1938-39. To be published in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* in 1940.

Elliott How Morse, 202 Avon Road, Narberth, Pennsylvania. *A Bibliography of Elisha Bates.* (An attempt to secure a list of all material throwing light on the life and writings of Elisha Bates, 1780-1861.) Preliminary draft completed, covering material in the libraries at Haverford and Swarthmore.

George H. Sabine, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. *Political Tracts of Gerrard Winstanley.* (An edition of the publications accompanying the Digger Movement and including all Winstanley's known works except three or four theological pamphlets.) Material completed. To be published by Cornell University Press, 1940.

Winnifred G. Stebbings, 518 West 111th Street, New York City. *Henry More and Lady Anne Conway, Enthusiast.* (Deals with the reaction of Henry More and Cambridge Platonism to Quakerism.) Columbia University, English, M.A. 1939. Material partly completed.

D. Elton Trueblood, Stanford University, California. (1) *Robert Barclay, Quaker Thinker.* (A study of the Apologist's thought.) Research partially completed. (2) *Elias Hicks.* (A biography.) Final writing not completed.

Madeline B. Valles, 4308 – 168th Street, Flushing, New York. *A History of Flushing [Long Island].* (Social, economic, and political history of Flushing, from settlement to World's Fair. Historical sketch of Quakers in Flushing incorporated in text.) Columbia University, History, M.A. 1938. Material completed.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The Friend (London)

IN RECENT months the columns of the London *Friend* have been largely filled with matters of immediate concern such as conscription and the war. There are frequent references to the experiences of Friends a quarter century ago. Even a note on the Thomas Ellwood Tercentenary, which was celebrated on Seventh Month 1 and 2, is entitled "A 17th Century Objector" (Sixth Month 16, 1939, pp. 532-534). A report of this anniversary meeting, which included a series of plays depicting the sufferings of Friends in seventeenth-century Buckinghamshire, a pilgrimage to places connected with Thomas Ellwood, and a lecture in the Jordans Meeting House by Arthur Rowntree, appears in *The Friend* of Seventh Month 7, 1939, pp. 582-583.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

SEVENTH Month 13, 1939, pp. 5-9. The Rogerene-Quakers, a small sect of Quakerlike folk founded by John Rogers in the 1670's, are reported by Ellen Starr Brinton to be still living in their original center near Mystic, Connecticut. She relates briefly their trials in colonial times for refusing to take oaths and bear arms, and their peace testimony after the Civil War, when they opened their community to the annual meetings of the American branch of the Universal Peace Union, which had been organized by a Philadelphia Friend, Alfred H. Love.

Ninth Month 29, 1939, pp. 92-96. In "The Fellowship of Hymnody," Frederick J. Gillman, an English Friend who published in 1927 a study of *The Evolution of the English Hymn* (New York, Macmillan), discusses the decline and rise of the custom of hymn-singing among Friends. Because of the increasing use of music in Quaker worship, he urges a more careful selection of hymns for Friends' use than is sometimes made.

The American Friend

SIXTH Month 9, 1938, pp. 236-238. In an article, "A Yankee Farmer and his Poet Friend," Albert Lindley Beane recounts some contacts between John Greenleaf Whittier and Jonathan Beede, a Friend who lived just across the New Hampshire-Massachusetts line from the Whittier home.

Sixth Month 8, 1939, pp. 233-236. The editor reports a visit to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, and his impressions of the old Yearly Meeting House, which is to be preserved by the State as a historical monument.

On page 236, Clintondale, New York, Friends Meeting is reported as celebrating on May 24, 1939, the fiftieth anniversary of the present meeting house. Meetings have been held in Clintondale since 1790, and the previous meeting house was erected under the care of Marlboro Monthly Meeting in 1810. A mimeographed history of the meeting has been prepared by the pastor, B. Russell Branson.

Seven Month 6, 1939, p. 289. An account of the centennial anniversary meeting of Carthage (Indiana) Monthly Meeting.

Eighth Month 17, 1939, pp. 355-356. The Haverhill, Massachusetts, Public Library had a summer exhibition of portraits of John Greenleaf Whittier, according to the report by Donald K. Campbell, Librarian. Forty different pictures were displayed, ranging from the profile miniature painted by J. E. Porter about 1829, to photographs taken in the year of Whittier's death in 1892.

Friends Intelligencer

AS NOTED elsewhere in this issue, Howard W. Hintz is publishing in the *Friends Intelligencer* (Seventh Month 15, 1939, pp. 455-457, and at intervals following) a series of studies under the general title, "The Quaker Influence in American Literature." These essays are designed for the lay reader rather than the specialist, and will be made available in book form later.

The Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College has received several notable gifts in recent months, according to the reports of William I. Hull, Librarian, and Ellen Starr Brinton, Curator of the Jane Addams Peace Collection. Charles Francis Jenkins, of Germantown, has contributed a large autograph collection, including letters of early Friends, of literary figures, statesmen, and Philanthropists (Seventh Month 1, 1939, p. 428). Ninety-six letters written by Elias Hicks during his ministerial journeys have been received from one of his descendants, Anna Seaman, of Jericho, Long Island (Eighth Month 26, 1939, p. 559). The Jane Addams Peace Collection, now barely four years old, is growing by leaps and bounds. During the past year 281 lots of peace material were received, containing approximately 62,600 individual pieces (Ninth Month 2, 1939, pp. 573-574).

BOOK REVIEWS

Thomas Willing and the First American Financial System. By Burton Alva Konkle. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. xii + 237 pp.; 18 illustrations. $4.00.

THOMAS WILLING, born in Philadelphia in 1731 and surviving to the ripe age of 89, lived through a most interesting period in the history of this country. He took a prominent part in the events of

the Revolutionary period and in the development of a sound financial system for the new nation.

His father, Charles Willing, had established a mercantile business in Philadelphia and when the son returned from England, where he had been sent to complete his education, he was taken into the firm, which thereupon operated under the name of Charles Willing and Son. Shortly after the premature death of Charles Willing, in 1754, the sole responsibility fell upon his son's shoulders. Within three years, Thomas Willing took into partnership a young man, Robert Morris, thus forming the firm of Willing and Morris, which was to rank as perhaps the foremost mercantile firm of the Revolutionary period.

Thomas Willing, following in the footsteps of his father, served as Mayor of Philadelphia. He was elected at the age of 32. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly. His period of study in England had included about eight months at the Inner Temple in London and this, no doubt, was one of the considerations which led to his appointment as a Justice of the Common Pleas Court of the County and later of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. In the agitation against the imposition of British stamp taxes which resulted in nonimportation agreements, he took a leading part. He headed the Pennsylvania delegation to the Second Continental Congress, which voted for independence.

Whether or not he signed the Declaration of Independence is in doubt. He stated that he voted against independence chiefly because the Pennsylvania delegates had not been authorized to vote for it. He appears in Trumbull's well-known canvas bearing the title "Declaration of Independence," but his signature is not in the list on the engrossed copy of the Declaration which was signed August 2, 1776. His biographer thinks it possible that after the Declaration had been adopted on July 4, Thomas Willing signed it. So far as is known there is no existing document to settle the question definitely.

The needs of the struggling colonies required a strong bank, and in 1782 the Bank of North America opened its doors with Thomas Willing as President. He occupied this position for ten years. In the organization of the first Bank of the United States he took a leading part and became its first President. For sixteen years he headed this important institution with distinction and resigned only because of failing health. He was to live, however, for nearly fourteen years longer.

Such in brief outline are the high points in the history of this interesting character. His biographer, of course, tells the detailed story in its relation to contemporary persons and events. For those not already familiar with the history of that period the book contains many things of interest. Incidentally it has an excellent index.

When I set out to review this book, I little thought that it would require the reading of others in order that the conclusions reached by the author might be more accurately appraised. Having learned in school

days of the services of Robert Morris as the financier of the Revolution, I found myself somewhat confused at having Thomas Willing raised to such eminent heights in the book under review. One might almost get the impression that but for Thomas Willing, Robert Morris would not have cut much of a figure.

Accordingly, I referred to two biographies of Robert Morris and my faith was restored. Certainly the evidence is clear that Morris's tremendous ability, energy, and enthusiastic faith in the cause of the Revolution were of the utmost value to the colonies in their desperate struggle for independence. As Superintendent of Finance appointed by the Continental Congress, he worked in close cooperation with Washington and more than any other man carried the financial burden when the outlook was the darkest.

There is, of course, no doubt that his connection with the powerful firm of Willing and Morris assisted him greatly in his service for the country. On the other hand, a man of the ability of Robert Morris would in all probability have risen to an important position through other channels, had he not been associated with Thomas Willing.

In comparing the biographies of Willing and Morris, it was interesting to note how differently the facts relating to certain important events in which both Morris and Willing were concerned, are emphasized by the authors. As consideration of the subject progressed I reached the conclusion that Thomas Willing's relative contribution to the period was somewhat more heavily underlined in the book under review than would be justified by an impartial appraisal of the facts. On the other hand, Willing's part in the drama was certainly not played up in the two biographies of Robert Morris to which reference was made. Mr. Konkle might have felt that something should be done to improve the balance. In a brief reference to the book, written by himself, he speaks of Thomas Willing as having been "curiously neglected by history."

Two statements about Thomas Willing, one written by himself and one taken from the *American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia following his death, would appear to throw light upon the type of man he was. Of himself he writes: "My success in life has not been derived from superior abilities, or extensive knowledge, a very small and scanty share of either having fallen to my lot; therefore, it can only be ascribed to a steady application to whatever I have undertaken, a civil and respectful deportment to all my fellow citizens, and to an honest and upright conduct in every transaction of life."

In the *Advertiser* we read of his connection with the Bank of North America and the Bank of the United States, and the following statement is made: "Such had been his indefatigable attention to the concerns of these two institutions, that it is believed he was hardly ever absent from his successive duties for a single day, during a period of nearly thirty years." Here we have the picture of a tireless, upright banker of great

ability, hardly ever taking a vacation, quietly serving his country in a most important capacity. He did not have the dashing qualities of a Robert Morris which were so essential during the critical period of the Revolution and which unfortunately brought their possessor into distressing circumstances during the era of land speculation following the war. However, Thomas Willing did possess those solid qualities which were most necessary in the man who was to head successively the two most important financial institutions of the new republic, and who was to earn the friendly nickname of "Old Regulator" of its financial system.

In the words of Thomas Willing Balch, a descendant writing in 1922 in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* he was "one of the potent but not spectacular figures in the development of the colonies and the United States."

M. Albert Linton.

Men of Power. By Fred Eastman. Cokesbury Press, Nashville. Vol. iii, 1939. 200 pp.; $1.50.

THE jacket of this book calls it "Another Cokesbury Good Book"; it is one of a series of five volumes, each containing four sixty-minute biographies; the only illustrations are four pen-and-ink drawings of the subjects of its four sketches—Franklin, Emerson, George Fox, and Darwin. A brief bibliography at the end names about half a dozen books on each subject; though for Fox it lists only the *Journal* and three books by Rufus Jones.

The author's purpose, stated in the Foreword, is to *explain* these men. Perhaps the biography of George Fox will be of greatest interest to Quaker readers; and the author reverts to this purpose of explaining (p. 161) with the statement that Fox defies full explanation. So do they all; but Eastman tells enough of Fox's background and life and message to make him seem real and present to us, and therefore understandable. There are obvious limitations to a sixty-minute biography; but this is an admirable presentation within the limitations, and a welcome addition to the literature on Quakerism. Franklin, through his contact with early Pennsylvania Friends, has also much of Friendly interest; Emerson's preoccupation with Fox's *Journal,* and his spiritual kinship with Friends, is brought out; and Darwin is perhaps included by contrast—Darwin himself said, in reference to his loss of religious faith and of interest in the artistic and emotional side of life: "My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts, but why this should have caused the atrophy of that part of the brain alone, on which the higher tastes depend, I cannot conceive. . . . The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature."

Earlier volumes covered Jefferson, Dickens, Arnold, Pasteur, Saint Francis, Leonardo, Milton, Cromwell; later volumes, which on the promise

of the present may be looked forward to with pleasure, may include Lincoln, Graham Taylor, Burroughs, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Lenin, E. L. Trudeau, and Stevenson. T. K. B.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

FEW QUAKER communities in New England have had their history collected as is done for Worcester, Massachusetts, by Charles H. Lincoln in an article on "The Antecedents of the Worcester Society of Friends." Though published in 1928 in the *Worcester Historical Society Publications,* New Series [vol. 1], No. 1, pp. 24-39, it is worth recording here because it gives so much detail not only of local meetings and their history but of the Quaker families (e.g. Earle). Friends were the first religious body after the Congregationalists to organize in Worcester (1732). The story continues to 1911.

ON A SOMEWHAT smaller scale than the corresponding volumes for the eastern parts of Quakerism, yet quite fully, Ethel Hittle McDaniel has studied *The Contributions of the Society of Friends to Education in Indiana* (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1939; 113 pp.). After a preliminary general survey the history of schools both elementary and secondary in each quarter is briefly recorded.

THE *Diary of John Milward, Esq., Member of Parliament for Derbyshire September 1666 to May 1668,* edited by Caroline Robbins (Cambridge 1938), is of interest especially in its report of the hearing of the Lord Chief Justice Keeling on December 13, 1667. He admitted fining some of the jury and imprisoning them because they would not find a true bill against three Quakers who were tried before him at Old Bailey for meeting at the Bull and Mouth. The case was not pressed against him, though they voted that "first the late proceedings and precedents in fining and imprisoning juries for giving in their verdict was illegal, and that a bill be brought in to prevent the like for the future. Secondly that there shall be no further prosecution or proceedings against the Chief Justice upon this charge" (pp. 166-170).

EXTRA Number—No. 131 of the *Mazagine of History* (vol. 33, No. 3, 1927)—is devoted to Morris Birkbeck (1764-1825), the English Quaker pioneer in Illinois and antislavery agitator. It includes a pen-and-ink portrait, bibliography, a brief life, and a reprint of his *Appeal to the People of Illinois on the Questions of a Convention,* first printed in Shawneetown in 1823.

THE American Legal History Society published in 1937 at Philadelphia *The Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey, 1683-1702.* Not only are individual Friends mentioned fre-

quently throughout the book, but the influence of the Society at the time in the colony was such that it may be regarded as an expression of Quaker ideas of government. The principles of the courts are carefully studied in a 150-page introduction by the editor, Preston W. Edsall.

THE title of the following pamphlet speaks for itself: *Herbert Hoover's Home Town; early history and environment of the first President born west of the Mississippi River.* It was written by Maud Stratton and published in 1938 by the *West Branch Times,* West Branch, Iowa.

A SKETCH of a famous antislavery Quakeress and of her husband will be found in an article by Zelotes W. Coombs, published in the *Worcester Historical Society Publications,* New Series vol. 1, No. 7 (April 1934), entitled "Stephen Symonds and Abby Kelley Foster." Abby Foster (1811-1887) was noted as a speaker; she was active also in the causes of women's rights and of temperance. She was married in 1845; from 1847 to her death she lived at Worcester, Massachusetts.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON, Esquire (1600-1678), Assistant and Treasurer of Massachusetts Colony, Judge, Governor and President of Rhode Island Colony, is the subject of the bulk of No. 100 of the *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society* (March 1939). Elizabeth Nicholson White has gathered from various sources information and conjecture—especially for his pre-Quaker period. A five-page chronology is added. Sources are not indicated, or if indicated not given in detail. The correspondence of Coddington does not appear to have been used. It still provides material for a full study of Coddington's Quakerism, especially in relation to the governors of the other colonies. Such a study is much to be desired.

JOHN BUNYAN (1628-1688) and Steven Crisp (1628-1692) were contemporaries. Both were buried in Bunhill Fields. Professor Luella M. Wright, in *Journal of Religion* xix (1939), pp. 95-109, has compared the most famous writings of the former with analogous writings —confessional autobiography and allegorical counterparts—of the latter. The literary and religious differences provide a very interesting study.

NOTES *and Queries* for March 13, 1937 (vol. 172, pp. 182-186) contains nine letters written from 1732 to 1753, principally by Samuel Rutty and Jonathan Rutty of Melksham to their wives. They are published by H. J. Wedlake, who found them in an attic attached to the old millhouse at Gillingham in Dorsetshire.

NEW YORK *History,* xviii, no. 3 (July 1937), publishes as a frontispiece opposite page 265 a picture of "Letitia Penn," a doll brought to Philadelphia from England in 1699 for a friend of William Penn's little

daughter Letitia. This is described as the oldest doll in America and the most famous in the Imogene Anderson Collection of Early American Dolls—a collection on display in July and August at the headquarters of the New York State Historical Association at Ticonderoga.

THE *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* v, 75-87 (May 1933) has an account of the Rev. Edward Bowles, of York (1617-1662), who is "priest Bowles" of George Fox's *Journal.*

FRIENDS who after 280 years still feel grateful to the most tolerant of the Commonwealth leaders will read with interest and with new insight into the environment of primitive Quakerism the full biography by William H. Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy: the Life and Times of General John Lambert and the Rise and Fall of the Protectorate* (Hodge & Co., London 1938, 464 pp.). Two passages in the book mention Quakers especially, and in a contrasting way: the account of the efforts of Lambert for leniency at the trial of Naylor by Parliament (pp. 216-221), and the touching interview in 1673 with the older Lambert, himself now a prisoner in St. Nicholas Island, Plymouth Sound, as told by Miles Halhead the Quaker (pp. 437-38). Lambert's escape and final defeat and capture in April 1660 gave the Friends a chance to reflect on their pacifist policy before it was crystallized by the Fifth Monarchy Rising a few months later. While Fox's paper to the soldiers who were joining Lambert is not preserved, another Quaker paper (Etting MSS iv. 2) to the same soldiers after the event, preserved though unpublished, shows the Quaker reaction.

VERY important for understanding the relation of Quakerism to the Church of England in the colonies of America before 1725 is *Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot 1645-1727,* by Edgar Legare Pennington, published in 1938 by the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia. When George Keith was sent to America by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Talbot, the chaplain of the ship in which he crossed, was so impressed with his undertaking that he volunteered as a missionary, traveled with Keith, and continued his work long after him. His headquarters were in Burlington, New Jersey. There is a possibility that Talbot was actually the first bishop in America. About 100 pages of this book are devoted to the letters of John Talbot and some excerpts from the *Journal* of George Keith.

EDWARD CARPENTER'S *Thomas Sherlock 1678-1761* (London, S. P. C. K., 1936) includes a considerable account from the Anglican standpoint of the so-called "Quakers Tithe Bills" of 1731 and of 1736. Sherlock was the leader of the opposition to the bills, writing anonymously the *Country Parson's Plea,* which was answered, as Carpenter records, by the "Meetings of the Suffering" (p. 115).